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LABOR PROTECTION
IN SOVIET RUSSIA

LABOR PROTECTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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INTRODUCTION

By ALICE HAMILTON, M.D.

Professor of Industrial Hygiene, Harvard University

RUSSIA of the present day can be understood only if it is seen against a background of pre-revolutionary Russia, but in reading much of what is written about Soviet Russia one gains the impression that the picture of Czarist Russia is fading from people's minds and that we are in danger of losing even the knowledge we formerly possessed of that great autocratic state with its mass of downtrodden, ignorant, helpless workers hardly freer than in the days of serfdom. Unless we keep this background before us we cannot possibly study with impartiality and justice the history of Russia since the Revolution of 1917.

Two contrasting pictures often come to my mind which have as their center a great rubber factory, in Riga up to the World War, then moved to Moscow when Riga fell into the hands of the Germans. Here, in the winter of 1913, a strange epidemic of illness broke out among the women using rubber cement, which caused widespread excitement amounting in many cases to hysteria, and even spread to other factories where no cement was handled. Physicians were at a loss to know whether the whole thing was hysterical in origin or due to some new and toxic constituent in the cement. It would seem that the obvious step was to make a scientific inquiry, but instead the factory declared a lock-out till the workers should

come to their senses, the police forbade any assembly either of workers or of physicians to discuss the matter, and would not allow a relief fund to be distributed, so that after a few weeks starvation drove the workers back ready to submit to anything. It was not until months later that physicians discovered the cause to be the use of benzol instead of naphtha in the cement; but this discovery had to be published in a German periodical, not in a Russian. When I visited that same factory in the winter of 1924, I found that there had been several cases of lead poisoning in the compounding room, and therefore all the men in that department and in the mill room were being sent in groups to the Obukh Institute of Occupational Diseases to spend a night so that there might be opportunity for a thorough physical examination and for the discovery of any as yet unrevealed case of lead poisoning.

Another contrasting picture comes to my mind when I think of the housing situation in Moscow. I was taken to visit workmen's homes in a beautiful large apartment house where I found the rooms large and well lighted, but there was only a single room for a family and but one kitchen for a dozen families. To an American this seemed intolerable overcrowding, but I was told that before the war the greatest leather merchant in Moscow, a philanthropist, built for his workmen dwellings which in the eyes of his fellow manufacturers were shockingly luxurious. The dwellings were long barracks with accommodations each for twelve families, but these families were all housed in one room with not even the privacy of screens, and they shared one washroom and one kitchen.

Dr. Price's book is the only one I have read which begins with a picture of Russia from the latter part of the eighteenth century through the nineteenth and down to the present day. He does not deal with the usual so-called historical facts,—wars and assassinations and diplomacy, but only with the peasants and workers. He carries us through the terrible period of industrialism before the emancipation of the serfs, and the attempts at reform which followed it but which seem always to have gone down sooner or later before the forces of reaction. He does not dwell on the details of those violent months of 1917, nor does he give us a rosy picture of what followed. Through his sober, critical though sympathetic language, we gain the impression not of a "Paradise of Workers" but of a country that is definitely committed to St. Paul's principle, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat," and to the principle that the worker has a right to health and the pursuit of happiness. Even the reader unversed in labor legislation and industrial hygiene can appreciate the great benefit of the short work-day, the two to four-week yearly vacation, the protection of women in industry, especially mothers, and the fact that the best medical care is given to that class whose health is most jeopardized, instead of the reverse.

In my visit to Russia in 1924 I saw much that Dr. Price has described, but in an earlier stage, and it is pleasant to read of the progress three years have brought. Part of this progress we have been able to follow over here, for the examination of workers in the important industries which had then just begun has proceeded rapidly, and many interesting and valuable reports have come to our medical journals for publication. The Rus-

sians are in an especially favorable condition for the study of industrial diseases, since workers, employers, physicians, factory inspectors, hospitals and insurance men are all working for one organization, the State, and to a single end; while in other countries they often represent several hostile camps, each endeavoring to suppress part of the truth and incapable of working together. We look for great things in this field of medicine, from Russia, and I am sure we shall not be disappointed.

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH,

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

March, 1928.

PREFACE

THE present study is in a way an unofficial continuation of my former official investigations of the labor legislation and administration of certain European countries, made in 1913 and 1922 for the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

In the reports published by the United States Department of Labor¹ I endeavored to present the extent of protection given to workers by the labor laws of the various countries, by their methods and efficiency of administration and through the agencies of factory inspection in each country. The extent of protective labor laws and their administration greatly differed, and depended upon the economic and political backgrounds and conditions in each country.

At the time of making my official studies, I was, to my regret, unable to visit Russia and make a study of Russian labor legislation and factory inspection. Since the 1917 Revolution it became a matter of great interest to learn how much protection is given to the workers in that country, which claims to be a "dictatorship of the proletariat," governed by the workers and peasant classes.

During the summer of 1927, I was enabled to visit Soviet Russia, get in personal contact with a number of

¹ *Administration of Labor Laws and Factory Inspection in Certain European Countries*, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 142, and U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. XVI, Number 6, June, 1923.

its leading officials in the Departments of Labor and Health, and obtain sources and data for the preliminary study of the subject of labor legislation and administration.

This book is a résumé of the studies made and is, as already indicated, based upon a study of the available material and personal observation. As the reader will perceive, I have refrained from discussion or consideration of the political or economic conditions of the country, neither praising nor criticizing adversely the present régime or its policies, as my sole aim is to give an impartial presentation of the one subject of Labor Protection.

It is difficult to cite all the sources of information except by giving a list of publications used. However, I cannot refrain from acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor Soloviev and Dr. Sheftel of the Commissariat of Health, to Professor Kaploun and Chief Factory Inspector Liaschenko of the Commissariat of Labor, and to Dr. Gellman, Assistant Director of the Obukh Institute for the Study of Occupational Diseases, who have given me full facilities for my studies and have otherwise assisted me in my undertaking.

G. M. P.

LABOR PROTECTION
IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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CHAPTER ONE

THE WORKERS UNDER THE CZAR

ON February 19, 1861, Alexander II., Czar of all the Russias, affixed his name to a Manifesto by which he liberated fifty million or more peasants and workers from bondage and serfdom. Hence, he was named "Alexander the Liberator."

Prior to 1861, Russian peasants and laborers were serfs attached to the soil; bought, sold and bartered with the soil according to the needs, desires and whims of the nobles, their owners. There was but an embryonic development of industry; indeed, industrial expansion was hardly possible with the conditions then prevailing. The history of Russian industry and workers is, therefore, logically and conveniently divided into two main periods, the Pre-Reform or Pre-Liberation Period, from Peter the Great (1672-1725) to the time of liberation, and from 1861 to the beginning of the World War.

Industry and the Workers Before 1861

Industry in Pre-Reform Russia.—Peter the Great was the first to attempt to create and develop industry in Russia. The new state needed a huge army, a navy and other governmental administrative establishments.

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These all required the production of clothing, arms and many other materials which could only be supplied by large industrial organizations.

There were then already some large factories, especially in the mining regions. In nine factories, in the Province of Perm, there were 25,000 workers; in one gun factory, 683 workers; in a sail factory, 1,162 workers; in a number of textile factories, from 180 to 1,500 workers. Gradually these factories, especially in the mining regions and in the iron industry, expanded, until Russia, at the time of the successors of Peter the Great, became an important factor in the production of iron and in the manufacture of wool and cotton textile fabrics.¹

In the nineteenth century, the industrial expansion kept pace and in 1815 there were in Russia 4,189 factories with 172,882 workers, an average of 41 workers in each. By 1861, the number of factories had reached 14,148 with a working population of 522,500. In 1830, Russia produced 12 per cent of the world's production of cast iron and in this commodity was ahead of the United States, Belgium and Prussia.

Except when the state directly owned the industries and factories, these were owned by office-holders, by members of the nobility and by merchants, who either leased or owned outright their factory establishments.

At the beginning there was hardly any free labor in Russia. There was no class of free workers in the country. When workers were not recruited from among criminals, beggars, children of poor-houses and other lower strata of the population, they were taken from the villages and peasant farms adjacent to the factory. All work was based on compulsory labor and the workers

¹ Tugan-Baranovsky: *The Russian Factory*.

were either chattels of the nobles, who leased and hired them out to the factory owners, or else the factory owners were permitted to buy up whole villages and attach them with their human chattels to the factory as compulsory laborers. All factory workers remained the property of the factory owners. Later, because of the complaint of the nobles, the factory owners were not permitted to attach to the factory whole villages with their populations, but were obliged to hire or lease them from the nobles. Gradually, however, some workers were freed, and beginning with the nineteenth century free labor began to develop, especially in those industries not directly working for the government. In 1804, free labor constituted 48 per cent and in 1825, 54 per cent of all labor.

Condition of the Workers.—It is needless to say that under a system where the workers were virtually condemned to hard labor within the factories, never able to free themselves, belonging body and soul to the factory owner, or to the noble whose chattels they were,—that under such a system, the conditions of labor and work were as low and miserable as they could possibly be.

When the workers were not living in the houses or barracks furnished them by their noble owners, they were so housed by the factory owners. According to descriptions extant and extensively quoted by Tugan-Baranovsky in his classic book, *The Russian Factory*, the housing conditions in practically all industrial establishments were horrible, and many of the workers were compelled to sleep near their benches and within the workshops. Where special barracks were built, they were occupied day and night by the workers of the various shifts and were without any conveniences whatever.

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In most cases, the workers were fed by the factory owners, although in others they were fed by the so-called "Artels" or coöperative establishments run either by themselves or by their owners.

Wages amounted to from three to twenty-five rubles *a year*, which was paid to the owners of the workers, or to their lessors. The wages generally, even later and to the free laborers, were but a few rubles in excess of what was absolutely needed for housing, food and clothing. All of these were of the most miserable kind. The truck system prevailed and where workers were not fed by their owners, they were compelled to purchase foodstuffs and other necessities at the factory owners' stores at exorbitant rates and on credit.

Women and children constituted a large contingent of the workers. Children of three years were known to assist their mothers with their work and children between eight and twelve were employed in the day- and night-shifts within the shops.

According to Professor Yanjul, the hours of labor were from twelve to eighteen, workers beginning their day's labor at 1 A.M. on Mondays and at 3 or 4 A.M. on other days, and working steadily, with two pauses, till 9 P.M. In the winter the hours were somewhat shorter.

Wages were often paid only two or three times a year, and the workers had to beg for their wages as for alms. The system of fines was arbitrary and depended on the whim of the overseers and owners. In many factories almost half of the miserable wages due to the workers was deducted in fines and the workers often completed the year in debt to the factory owner.

Needless to say, sanitary and hygienic conditions were such as can hardly be described. Men, women and chil-

dren lived, fed and slept in the same barracks, on floors and in cellars, and within the shop.

Complaints and Disturbances.—The workers, being bonded serfs, could not voluntarily detach themselves from the shop or factory and were compelled to remain there under all conditions. Even the free workers could not leave their factories before the year or longer periods of the labor contract. Many of the younger children and adolescents were compelled to make contracts for ten years, the first seven years as apprentices without any wage, working for mere maintenance and compelled to remain within the shop the full term of the indenture.

However, there were from time to time in many places bitter complaints against prevailing conditions and at times actual disturbances by the workers, who revolted against the impossible tortures of their jobs. In numerous cases the workers and their representatives sent petitions to the governors of the provinces, and in a few cases to the Czar himself, bitterly complaining against their lot and asking for redress of their just grievances.

The most frequent causes for complaint were low wages, fines, long hours, hard labor, and arduous work of minors and children. Many a time the complaints were also of brutal treatment and behavior of the factory owner and his overseers. In a complaint of workers of a factory owned by a certain "Osakin," the petition of the workers says that "Osakin practices terror, beats and flogs to death many workers, who are compelled to work in cold and hunger and are often frozen at their jobs."

No attention was given to the complaints of the workers. Where complaints ended in disturbances or stoppages of work, the governors as well as the central government sent bureaucratic investigators, who usually reported

that the fault lay with the workers, that they were disturbers and rioters, and drastic measures ought to be used for the quieting of the strikers. Very often the government sent soldiers, and ordered the leaders of the strike to be transported to Siberia and the other strikers to be flogged. After a strike in a woolen factory, thirteen of the leaders were subjected to flogging, fifty-five were transported to Siberia, three were flogged to death, and seventy-six were recruited into the army.

At times the trouble starting in individual factories rapidly spread to whole districts and ended in a fierce revolt, a notable case of which was the famous Pugachev Uprising (1773-74), which caused much surprise and terror to the government, involved a large territory and lasted quite a time before it was ruthlessly suppressed by the government.

Legislation.—The frequent disturbances in the industrial establishments, which led to investigations and surveys by representatives of the government, at times were also followed by government attempts at labor legislation.

The first interference between the relations of the nobles and their serfs dates back to the time of Peter the Great. In a "Reglament of the Admiralty" in 1722, Peter tried to reduce the working hours to ten in the winter and to thirteen in the summer. In the instructions sent to one of the mines in the Ural in 1723, the labor day was fixed at fourteen hours in the summer, at twelve in the fall and spring, and ten in the winter.

A law of 1741, made by one of the successors of Peter, regulated certain conditions of labor and even made an attempt to appoint three commissioners to supervise factories. In the later laws of 1779 and 1803 there were

further attempts made to regulate certain conditions in industrial establishments. However, it was not before 1845 and later that any real provision was made for the protection of workers. This was at a time when the number of free workers had greatly increased and constituted an important contingent of the working population.

According to the law of 1845, children under twelve were prohibited from working at night, although this and other provisions of the law were absolutely worthless because of the lack of administrative machinery.

Side by side with the few sporadic attempts to protect the workers against the greed and brutality of employers, the government developed its punitive measures against any disturbances, especially strikes, by the workers. According to the law of 1845, striking workers were liable to arrest for from three weeks to three months and the leaders to much stronger penalties.

Liberal Agitation.—During the régime of Nicholas I. (1796-1855), with reaction rampant and despotism absolute, the bad condition of the peasants and workers drew the attention of the liberal elements of the community, and many voices were raised against conditions as they existed and proposals made for their amelioration. The critics Belinsky, Pissarev and the poet Nekrasov, and many others described the sad condition of the Russian peasant and worker in prose and poetry, and all the liberal elements more or less openly advocated the liberation of serfs, freedom of the peasants and workers, and better conditions in the country in general.

In spite of the reactionary character of Czar Nicholas I. a new spirit was felt in the country with the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, which culminated, after the ascent of his son, Alexander II.

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(1818-1881), in the Manifesto of 1861, liberating the whole peasantry from serfdom and bondage.

Industry and Workers (1861-1914)

Industrial Expansion After 1861.—With the abolition of serfdom and the freeing of the labor masses from their bondage to the soil, Russia enters a new era of industrial expansion, joins other European nations in adopting industrial capitalism, rapidly extends its industry, augments its working population, and increases its share of industrial production.

However, the Manifesto of 1861 not only freed production and liberated the workers, but it also dislocated prevailing industry, unbalanced it, largely changed the manner of employment, and, necessarily, for a time caused serious disruption in the industrial life of the country. Moreover, this was also a time of an economic crisis throughout Europe and for the next ten years or longer Russia wallowed in the slough of despond, only gradually emerging from it towards the eighties and nineties.

An example of some of the reduction of establishments as well as in numbers of workers may be cited from the figures given by Balabanov. While there were in the wool industry, in 1860, 432 establishments with 94,721 workers, in 1863 there were only 365 establishments with 71,797 workers. Corresponding reductions in establishments and in numbers of workers may be cited in other industries. However, the crisis lasted but ten or fifteen years.¹

Gradually and steadily thereafter there is an increase in the productive capacity of the country. There is a

¹ Tugan-Baranovsky: *op. cit.*

large increase in the number of industrial establishments with modern equipment in and near St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), and also in the western provinces, especially Warsaw, Lodz, and other Polish cities. There are also many discoveries of new sources of national wealth, increase in the production of coal and iron in the Dunetz basin in the south, as well as in the production of oil and other products in the Baku and other districts.

According to the census of 1897 (Huchaman), there were in that year 19,396 industrial establishments with over 16 workers in each, with a total of 1,880,000 workers, and there were 7,062 with less than 16 workers, but employing machinery, having 60,000 workers. These figures did not include the home trades, which in Russia always represented a large number of establishments and workers and which, in 1927, counted 96,484 workplaces with 458,000 workers.

According to Lenin (*The Evolution of Capitalism in Russia*), there were at that time in the Empire about 10,000,000 wage workers, including, of course, workers in mercantile establishments, in government and in domestic service.

Between the years 1897 and 1913, there was an increase of 70 per cent in the number of wage workers in industry and 50 per cent in domestic craft industries.

Condition of Workers.—With the entrance of Russia into the family of capitalist nations, and with the liberation of workers from serfdom, the condition of the wage workers did not greatly improve. Whatever improvement there ensued during the next fifty years was a result of long, arduous and bitter struggles on the part of the workers and of the liberal forces of the community.

We shall see later, in the discussion of labor legislation

in Russia, how puny and futile were the attempts on the part of the governing classes to bring about amelioration of working conditions and how, even when some legislative enactments had been forced upon the government, their results were nullified by the total absence of administrative organs, or their inefficiency.

With the adoption by Russian industrialists of modern methods of industrial production, the employers and factory owners did not much change their ancient methods of exploitation. Wages were still extremely low, with a corresponding standard of living, probably the lowest in Europe. Especially low were the wages in the Moscow province and in those districts where the wage workers were recruited from the freed serfs of the adjacent villages and farms, and where the workers were still somewhat attached to the soil and returned to their agricultural pursuits during the summer months. In these districts the wages were much lower than in the factories in the northern and western provinces. There also was less modern machinery and equipment for the very reason of the cheapness of labor. In these districts especially the old form of industrial barracks for the workers to sleep in was still in evidence in many places, while in the northern and western provinces, owing to the increase in the urban population, the housing of the working classes presented a serious problem and housing conditions were below normal.

Wages were further decreased by frequent reductions and by the universal custom of petty fines, which amounted to a considerable percentage of the workers' yearly earnings. Thus (according to Lenin), the well-known owner of cotton factories, Morosow, within a few years before 1884, made five reductions in wages. At

the same time he increased the fines to 24 per cent, or nearly a quarter of the wage. For absence from work there was a fine of three days' pay for one day missed. There were fines for smoking of 3 to 5 rubles for each offense.

The employment of women and children and minors increased because of the inadequate laws restricting the permitted age for minors and certain work of women, and because of the lack of proper enforcement by administrative officials.

The sanitary and safety standards of Russian factories in pre-revolutionary Russia were always very low, much lower than such standards in other European countries.

There was no curb to, or regulation of, the employment of women and children nor of adults in certain occupations dangerous to life and health. Until almost the end of the nineteenth century there were hardly any statistics as to the number of accidents and number of persons suffering from occupational diseases.

Complaints, Disturbances, Strikes, Etc.—The unfavorable working conditions led to a great many complaints by the workers, to much dissatisfaction among the working class, and to frequent more or less extensive disturbances in various industries. Strikes became the rule, instead of the exception. These strikes were especially frequent in the seventies. In 1870 there was a large strike in the Nevsky cotton factory in St. Petersburg, with the result that the strikers were prosecuted. Later the government banished the leaders of the strike to Siberia. There were many strikes also in 1871. During that year there was a very extensive strike of drivers in Odessa, involving 4,000 men. In the strike of 1872, near Narva, conditions were such that the government had to send for

the militia. In 1875 there was a strike in the "Hughes" factory in the South.

From 1879 to 1882, there was again a large number of strikes throughout the country. Especially noteworthy was the strike in the Girard factory near Warsaw, where 8,000 workers were on strike and where a large number of workers were wounded and killed in the attacks of the police and the militia. These strikes later increased in number and intensity and occurred all over Russia. Especially were these strikes frequent and bitter in 1893, 1894 and in 1895, when the famous strike of the Putilov (St. Petersburg), factory took place. In that year alone there were dozens of strikes, with more than 40,000 strikers. In 1896 there was a strike in the cotton factories of St. Petersburg, 19 factories with 30,000 workers. With the beginning of the twentieth century and the greater spread of political propaganda, the number of strikes was largely increased, and culminated in the 1905 Revolution, finally causing the government to grant certain liberties and to establish a parliament, the Duma.

Labor Legislation.—There was no serious labor legislation for the protection of workers prior to 1882 and 1884. Several commissions were established earlier, notably the Commission of Valuev in 1874, and of General Ignatiev in 1879. Characteristically, however, there were some rules issued in 1878 permitting police and gendarmes freely to enter factories in order to "make search and arrests for the prevention of disturbances."

The first law which had any effect as to protection of labor was the law of June 1, 1882. According to this law, children under twelve (in exceptional cases under ten) were not permitted to work, and children under fifteen were not permitted to work at night. Children

between twelve and fifteen were permitted to work only eight hours and provision had to be made for schooling. The main beneficial part of the law, however, was the first introduction of factory inspection,—the division of the country into nine districts, with twenty inspectors. This part of the law, however, the factory owners did not permit to be enforced until the first of May, 1884.

In 1884 and 1885 the law further prohibited night work for children up to seventeen and also for women, but only in cotton-spinning factories. In 1886, this law was extended to include other textile factories. In the latter year, there were also issued a number of rules as to certain dangerous work which children and minors were not permitted to do.

The potent influence of disturbances and strikes in the eighties on the legislation of those years is directly testified to by the report to the State Council in 1886, in which we find the following interesting version. "The disturbances among the factory workers in the Moscow and Vladimir provinces have shown many unpleasant sides of factory conditions and also that the causes of the disturbances were due also to the abnormal relations between factory owners and workers. The irritations of workers against the owners, with the difficulty for ignorant people to find legal ways of protecting their rights, led the workers to try and get their rights by means of strikes, sometimes accompanied by violence and destruction. Such a condition," continues the report, "reflects itself directly on the honest employers."¹

The law of 1886 goes quite extensively into the relations of owners and workers, abolishes the industrial absolutism reigning until that time, gives certain rights

¹ Kaploun: *Theory and Practice of Labor Protection*, 1927, p. 79.

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to the workers, compels employers to give account books to the workers, in which must be noted the contract and time of employment, as well as wages, fines, etc. According to the same law, the truck system was either entirely abolished or put under the supervision of the factory inspectors. No company stores were allowed without permits. A two weeks' notification was specified for owners and workers for discharge and resignation from employment, although the owners were subject only to fine for failure to give notice of discharge, while the workers were subjected to criminal prosecution in case of their voluntarily dropping work before their term.

In 1890 a new labor law modified somewhat the protective provisions of the law of 1886. Work of children in glass factories was permitted and the government and the factory administration were given the right to permit Sunday and holiday work for children where adults are working.

After the strikes and disturbances in the middle nineties, the Labor Code of 1897 was promulgated, which practically was continued until the beginning of the World War. Lenin claimed that according to this law, "the labor day is longer than is the custom in St. Petersburg factories, night work is not prohibited but only reduced, overtime is practically permitted to all, and the government has the right to interpret the laws according to its wish." The number of holidays was decreased and no fines were indicated by the law for its violations.

In 1901, 1903, and, finally, 1912, workmen's compensation laws were introduced in Russia, and in 1913 a partial social insurance law was finally introduced, giving some protection to workers in case of sickness and invalidity.

Administration and Enforcement of Labor Laws in Russia and Factory Inspection.—The protection given to labor cannot be solely judged by the extent of labor legislation. Labor laws are futile unless there is created a machinery for their proper administration and for the enforcement of their provisions.

Until 1884, there was no provision for the enforcement of the labor laws issued from time to time. While in England a proper machinery for administration of labor laws was established as early as 1834, and in other European countries somewhat later, in Russia there was no attempt made in this respect until 1882 and 1884.

In the law of June 1, 1882, special provision was made for the creation of an Institute of Factory Inspection, with one chief and two district inspectors. Later this was increased to twenty inspectors in nine districts. Because of the opposition of factory owners and employers to these provisions of the law, it was not put into effect until May 1, 1884.

In 1886, new rules were issued for factory inspectors, increasing their number as well as extending their functions. From that time until the World War, the Factory Inspection Bureau was firmly established, and it increased its personnel until in 1913 it consisted of 273 persons, of whom there were 193 district inspectors.

The first factory inspectors were men of a high caliber, recruited from the best classes of liberal intelligentsia. The first two district inspectors appointed were the famous Professor Yanjul and the no less eminent Dr. Peskov. The first inspectors were recruited mostly from the ranks of economists, lawyers, and especially physicians, the flower of liberal university graduates. There was only one engineer among the first inspectors.

The first contingent of the inspectors regarded their duties very seriously, became enthusiastic in their work, devoted all their energies towards its development, made pertinent and valuable investigations and surveys of working conditions, gathered and published a number of valuable statistical data, and, generally, seemed to be devoted to real protection of labor and to prevention of illegal exploitation of workers.

Soon, however, their activities came to be seriously resented by the manufacturers and employers, who used all means to induce the government to curtail the zeal and enthusiasm of the inspectors, to put a curb to their activities, and to change the character and the whole form and method of the administration of labor laws. Thus, Count Tolstoi, the Minister of Interior, at that time in a report, tried to prove that "since 1886 factory inspection received a special *police* character, with the function to *secure order and peace* in factories and *especially to prevent and curb disorders* of workers dissatisfied with their conditions." Therefore, according to his opinion, "the inspectorial force should be connected with the Police Department and should be in one department, the duty of which would be the guarding of internal order and peace in industry."

Indeed, soon the factory inspectors were very closely connected with the Police Department. The whole viewpoint of factory inspection was changed, inspectors became "Chinovniks"—officials—with their function the prevention of strikes and disorders, punishment of disorderly workers, and the compulsion of peace in industry by any means.

By a circular of April, 1889, the inspectors were obligated to persuade the workers that they could not

gain anything through strikes, and were instructed to prevent any amelioration of the condition of the workers, even if the strikes were fully justified, while the strikes lasted and the workers were not at their machines. The inspectors were also instructed to inform the workers of the measures of punishment which would be meted out to them in case of continued stubbornness and resistance.

With the change in the character of their work, a great many of the liberal factory inspectors dropped their work and the inspectorial force began to be recruited from a lower stratum of office-holders, who did what they were instructed to do and became oppressors instead of protectors of labor.

Thus the golden age of factory inspectorship was soon passed. Inspectors, instead of representing the administration of humanitarian laws, became, according to Professor Yanjul, "police gendarmes anxious to prevent and stop industrial disturbances and prevent liberal tendencies among the workers."

With the administration coming down to such a low point, it is but natural that very little was done by the inspectors. Thus, in 1906, the factory inspectors discovered 14,613 infractions of the law and brought to the notice of the Court only 750 of these, less than five per cent, of which only 154 reached trial. In 1913, there were only 557 cases brought to notice out of 13,814 infractions, and only a few of them were tried and a still smaller percentage ended with trivial fines of the employers.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Factory Inspection Bureau was subject, in the first place, to supervision by the Governor, and a Labor Commission, consisting of his appointees: the public prosecutor, the

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chief of the gendarmerie, the district engineer, the chief factory inspector, and four representative employers. With a supervision of this character it stands to reason that the factory inspectors were much handicapped in their work of protecting the workers.

In his book already quoted, Lenin gives a résumé of his opinion on factory inspection at that time: "In Russia there are so very few inspectors that they are able to see the factories only at very rare intervals. Their superiors compel them to become servants of the factory owners, informers of the police about strikes and disturbances,—in a word, police assistants. The factory owners have a thousand methods of influencing the factory inspector, while the workers have none. Under such conditions their influence for labor protection is practically nil."

Summary.—After our more general historical review of labor legislation, enforcement and workers' conditions in pre-revolutionary Russia, it may be of interest to summarize the conditions as then found:

1. There was no single universal labor law applicable to *all* industries, but only separate rules and regulations for factories in different industries.
2. Only after 1905 were there laws enacted to give some protection to workers in mercantile establishments.
3. Only in 1905 were trade union organizations permitted to exist and this permission was soon nullified.
4. The social insurance law of 1902 was not primarily enacted for the protection of workers but to reduce to owners the cost of medical assistance, as it compelled the workers themselves to bear the cost of sickness.
5. The normal work-day, according to the law of 1897, was eleven and a half hours per day and ten hours on

Saturday and on the eve of holidays. These hours were longer than those which were actually in practice in the larger factories in the northern and western districts, where a ten-hour day was practically the rule.

6. Overtime was permitted by mutual consent, which rule, of course, was greatly abused.

7. The worker could be discharged without cause, provided two weeks' notice was given him; also for bad conduct which could be interpreted at will by the employer.

8. The worker could not give up his employment without due notice and was severely punished for voluntarily dropping his work, sometimes even by imprisonment.

9. Fines were permitted to a large extent. Fines were permitted for failure to report to work. For one day's failure to report, a fine of three to six days' pay was imposed. Fines were also permitted for "disorderly conduct," in which term were included smoking on the premises, noise, disobedience, drunkenness, etc. One ruble was the fine for each minor offense. Fines could be imposed to the extent of one-third of wages.

10. There were no general rules for safety and sanitation. No provision for protection of workers with dangerous materials and dangerous processes.

11. Women were permitted to work at night except in textile factories and even there could work at night when "specially necessary" or when they worked with the head of the family.

12. Only in 1912 were pregnant women prohibited from work four weeks before delivery, but without pay unless they belonged to sick benefit societies.

13. Children under twelve were not permitted to work. There was no provision for minors over twelve except a

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prohibition of work with explosive materials. The hours of labor of minors between twelve and fifteen were eight, and in factories with double-shift, nine. Night work was prohibited for these children, but not in glass factories.

14. Prosecutions of employers were rare, fines trivial, arrests practically unknown.

15. There were no Labor Courts. The inspectors as well as other administrators were simply officials bound to protect the employers instead of the workers.

16. On the other hand, the workers were often arrested, prosecuted, fined for trivial as well as serious cases. The leaders of strikes were often imprisoned, banished by administrative orders to Siberia and subjected to physical punishment.

CHAPTER TWO

WORKERS UNDER THE PROVISIONAL AND UNDER THE MILITARY COMMUNIST RÉGIMES

Under the Provisional Government

WITH the abdication of Nicholas II. (March 15, 1917) and the formation of the Provisional Government, recruited from the Duma, Russia entered a new era. Centuries-old laws and customs were instantaneously swept away. The whole country was liberated from the yoke of the autocratic rulers and entered a new epoch of self-government.

To the Provisional Government, at first under Lvov (March-July, 1917) and later under Kerensky (July-November, 1917), fell the enormous task of breaking down the whole legal fabric of autocratic Russia, and to rebuild a new economic and social structure in its place. At the same time, the Provisional Government undertook the impossible task of continuing the cruel World War, which already counted ten million victims among its population, a war for which the people felt an abhorrence, to continue which the country was absolutely unable by the failure of all its resources, and to the further pursuance of which so great and additional sacrifices were demanded by the allied governments.

However, the government, early in its existence, created a special Ministry of Labor and a number of Commissions to investigate and study the old labor laws and

to recommend changes necessary under the new, reorganized political conditions. Needless to add, within the short period of the Provisional Government's existence, very little could be done to further the progress of labor protection and to ameliorate the conditions of the workers.

No fundamental changes were made in the law and only a few provisions were enacted. Among these were the following: prohibition of night work for women; prohibition of work of minors under seventeen; prohibition of fines. However, even these few enactments were nullified by the necessity of disregarding them in the industrial establishments in the country which were compelled to continue their work under old conditions because of the pressure of the war.

Among the projects of the Provisional Government, especially interesting was the attempt to reorganize the Factory Inspection Department. The factory inspectors were to be appointed and not elected as was demanded by the trade unions. The appointments were to be made only from the ranks of university graduates, or of assistants with four years' experience. Preference was to be given to experienced and old inspectors. Competitive civil service examinations were to be instituted. A special force of assistant inspectors was to be appointed, each assistant inspector to work with an inspector, and general and district labor courts were to be instituted.

When the Third Trade Union Congress was held in 1917, during the régime of the Provisional Government, a radical demand by the left-wingers, the Bolsheviks, for workers' control of industry, was rejected. At the same Trade Union Congress a number of resolutions were presented for the changing of the labor laws, and the con-

ference advocated the subordination of Factory Committees to trade unions and passed a number of resolutions on female labor, unemployment, conciliation boards, industrial courts, labor secretariats, factory inspection, municipal policy of trade unions, eight-hour day, etc.

There was strenuous opposition on the part of the employers and factory-owners against an eight-hour labor day as advocated by the trade unions, and also against the proposition of establishing Factory Committees within the shops. A number of big strikes were conducted during the time of the Provisional Government and in many of them, notably in the Ural strike of the Bogolovsky mining region, the representative employers insisted upon the abolition of the Factory Committees and were against state control of industries. The Baku petroleum owners declared that they would never agree to give over to the Factory Committees the job of hiring and firing of workers.

Soon after, the employers took the offensive and in August, 1917, called a conference of all Russian Employers' Organizations at Petrograd. At this conference there were represented all the largest employers' associations, representing 2,000 establishments, and a million and a half workers, and the "All Russian League of Manufacturers' Associations" was formed with the purpose "to unite the employers in defense of their interests and to resist the interference of Factory Committees with factory management."

During the summer months, in the latter part of the régime of the Provisional Government, there were colossal economic conflicts with hundreds of thousands of workers on strike, the Provisional Government trying to sail safely between the Scylla of disorganized economic

conditions and Charybdis of the turbulent political life. The Workers' Councils began their strong fight against the Provisional Government, with a strike of 500,000 Moscow workers and a demand for "All power to the Soviets." Industry became disorganized, workers left their factories, employers closed their establishments. The conflicts between labor and capital practically suspended all industry, disorganized economic life, and the whole culminated in the revolution of November, from which the trade unions and the Soviets emerged victorious.

Under the Soviet Régime, 1917-1922

The economic disorganization under the Provisional Government, which was due to its stubborn determination to continue an unpopular and exhaustive war, in turn called out the disturbances and conflicts between the growing labor organizations and the employers and the government. The disorganization due to these causes was but infinitesimal compared to the economic ruin and industrial anarchy which immediately followed the success of the Bolsheviki and the coming of the Soviets into power. Capital, already previously frightened, took wings and in most cases abandoned mines, factories and workshops. Industrial establishments were closed up. Their owners ran away and emigrated. Engineers, overseers and technical foremen dropped their jobs and fled, while the machinery and costly equipment were partly destroyed, rusted, dismantled, and thrown away.

The confiscation of capital, the nationalization of large and small industries and industrial establishments, the persecution and imprisonment of capitalists and members of the bourgeois class, the taking of control of most

industries by the Factory Committees, and the general wrenching of the whole economic machinery, produced indescribable economic destruction, ruin, anarchy and chaos.

With the gradual nationalization of industries, labor of all classes became compulsory. Every person within certain ages became liable to forced labor, not always in his own line. Thus, in the first period of disorganization, many a surgeon was compelled to labor in railroad yards and in scrubbing floors; many engineers made to perform menial tasks, while a number of inexperienced youngsters were put in important, responsible jobs; graduates of grammar school became deans of universities, common laborers were assigned as judges, and many important functions were assigned to the not always competent representatives of the proletariat. Much of this can be explained by the exigencies of the period.

Wages were soon abolished, as money had lost its value, and the whole population was put on a ration,—“payok.” This ration was scarcely sufficient to keep body and soul together, although it was so distributed that workers got a larger share than members of the former bourgeoisie.

Add to these economic causes of industrial disruption the almost total blockade of Russia by all European governments and by the United States, which stopped all export and import trade and even communication between Russia and the other nations; the grim fight that the government had to wage against the armies of the Kolchaks, Wrangels, Yudeniches and other pets of foreign governments; also the fierce strife and internal war between the whites and reds, between city and village,

between one part of the population and the other,—and one may imagine the economic, financial, and industrial chaos that naturally ensued.

Nor was this all. The measure of the country's misfortune was not yet full. To external and civil war and to the other disturbances was added a frightful famine embracing a large section of the country, one which became so menacing that it often led to cannibalism and caused the death of millions of the population. This famine was followed by a no less terrible plague of typhus fever and other diseases which came as aftermath of the war and famine.

Is it to be wondered that neither the workers themselves nor the government could find time or opportunity to occupy themselves with measures for the protection of labor, for which they had so clamored before the revolution, and that they were now helpless to introduce them even after obtaining political dominance?

Moreover, the successful revolution and the victory of the Soviet of peasants and workers changed the whole *raison d'être* of labor protection. Labor was no longer the down-trodden, persecuted, exploited class. On the contrary, the worker became the dominant factor in production,—if not the owner, at least the controller of its destinies. Increased production was necessary, not to increase the profits of the employer but to redound to the benefit of the workers' government. If the workers had to labor many additional hours of overtime, the benefit was not that of the employers but of the government, that is, the workers themselves. If the workers had to labor day and night, under most terrible conditions, that was not a matter of exploitation but the result of self-sacrifice on their part, a duty imposed upon them by

themselves, a toil of to-day in order to reap the benefits of to-morrow.

Nor could there be any talk or even thought of strikes, for against whom would the workers strike? Not against themselves. Not against their own government. A strike under these circumstances therefore became treason and revolt against the government.

These then were the causes for the slow evolution of labor protective laws in the Soviet government during the first three or four years of its existence.

Nevertheless, the matter was not totally neglected, as may be determined by a brief mention of the main features of labor protective laws and enactments during the period between 1917 and 1921.

On October 29, 1917, a decree was issued on hours of labor and rest. According to this an eight-hour work-day was established, a forty-two-hour continuous weekly rest was enacted, overtime was limited, work of minors under sixteen regulated, and the labor of women and children restricted. ✓

In a later enactment, the Social Insurance Law was recast, and an increase was made for benefits during sickness, invalidity and unemployment.

In 1918 there was issued the first code of labor laws, which was the first to include under its protection all wage workers, and which became the foundation of future labor laws.

The code of 1918 was mostly a paper code, as very few of its provisions were then enforcible. One of the most radical enactments was the establishment of Factory Committees, which were representative of all the workers' organizations within the factory, and which later became the political and economic instrument of the

labor unions, which came into control of industry and of industrial establishments. These Committees settled all labor conflicts, adjusted complaints, and controlled the economic and financial life of the establishment.

At first the Factory Committees, as the local agents of the Union, greatly interfered with the administration and conduct of the establishment. Later their powers were somewhat curbed. These Factory Committees often acted in an irresponsible and incompetent way, tried to enforce rules and regulations which were unenforcible and impracticable, so that later much of their activity, regarded as pernicious by some, was curtailed and largely modified.

Theoretically, the protection of labor, outside of the jurisdiction of the trade unions, was in the hands of the Department of Labor Protection, which became a separate institution in July, 1918, although later it was combined with the Department of Social Insurance. Gradually all protection of labor was taken over by the Commissariat of Labor, of which it became a separate bureau.

The machinery of enforcement and of factory inspection was, of course, totally destroyed after the victory of the Soviets and the November revolution. Most of the members of the Ministry of Trade, created under the Provisional Government, and most of the factory inspectors, left their posts and refused to coöperate with the new government, thus leaving the whole country practically without any administrative machinery of labor laws.

By the law of May 18, 1918, the old factory inspection organization was abolished and a new organ of factory inspection was created with several extremely radical features. Factory inspectors were no longer appointed

by the administration but were elected by the trade unions in conjunction with the social insurance organization of each district and in confirmation of the nomination of the Factory Committees of each industrial establishment. The institution of factory inspectors came under the supervision of the Commissariat of Labor. They could, however, be dismissed by the trade unions. The number of factory inspectors was increased and reached about 200 in 1919.

As already indicated, the supervision of factory inspectors extended to all workers, whether working in mines, industrial establishments, transportation, military and naval administration, prisons, etc.

This brief sketch of the extent of labor protection during the first few years of the new government is sufficient to show the meager amount of protection given to workers during that period, although it also indicates that during this time the real foundation of the superstructure of the future labor protection was being firmly erected.

CHAPTER THREE

LABOR UNIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN LABOR PROTECTION

LABOR organization and trade unionism in Russia differ greatly from these movements in other European countries and the United States. They differ in historical development, in their relation to the state, in the rôle they are playing in the economic life of the country, and especially in their relation to labor protection in all its various phases. Hence, a brief study of the rise, growth and development of trade unionism in Russia will be of interest in a general description of labor protection in Russia.

Trade Unions Before and Immediately After the Revolution

Legally, there were no trade unions in Russia before 1905. The old organizations of workers were very seldom on a craft basis and were mostly in the form of mutual benefit, mutual aid, benevolent, burial, and sickness societies. Some of these societies are known to have existed as early as 1821. There are also mentioned benefit societies among printers, compositors, and lithographers in St. Petersburg in 1838. However, there were comparatively few of such societies until the middle of the nineties, when quite a number of them were organized with the purpose of granting benefits to the sick,

giving medical aid, funeral benefits, assistance to invalids and orphans, and loans to those who needed them. In order to organize such benefit societies, application had to be made to the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Interior, who strictly defined the structure and functions of these societies.

In the latter part of the nineties quite a number of craft societies was organized. Especially were they numerous in Poland and the Baltic Provinces. In 1898, there were in the Baltic Provinces alone 98 workmen's benefit societies and 113 burial societies.

In spite of the close supervision of these workers' societies by the government authorities, and in spite of the drastic treatment meted out to strikers and leaders of disturbances, the benefit societies often presented a nucleus of dissatisfied workers and from their midst were recruited the leaders of the various more or less extensive strikes, mention of which has already been made in a previous chapter. These societies also became a hot-bed of propaganda by politically-minded agitators, Nihilists, Socialists and members of other radical organizations. Especially active in political propaganda of the workers' benefit societies was later the so-called "Bund," or the Jewish Labor League, which developed so rapidly in the last decade of the nineteenth century, played a big rôle in the propagandization of the western and southwestern workers, and was followed by the joining of the labor organizations with the general political movement for liberation of the country from the Czarist régime.

So important did the workers' organizations become during those years that the Police Department decided to establish a counter-offensive by themselves organizing

workers' unions through police agents. This was especially practiced by Col. Zubatov, the chief of the Moscow Okrana (Secret Service), who in Moscow and also in other cities organized a number of workers' unions, which received the sanction of the government and which tried to keep the workers out of political agitation and to counteract the radical tendencies of regular organizations. These police unions became quite strong and even initiated extensive strikes which induced the employers and the manufacturers to protest to the government against them, and instigated the government to discharge Zubatov and to put a curb to the pernicious activities of the police union organizers of the so-called "Zubatov-china."

However, later, in 1904, a great many of the St. Petersburg workers were again organized with the aid of the police and with the sanction of the Prime Minister Witte. It was at the head of these government-organized unions that Father Gapon placed himself as leader and marched them to the slaughter of the "Bloody Sunday," on January 22, 1905.

In 1905 a large number of unions were formed throughout the country. These unions participated in the state-wide strikes that were a feature of that period and which culminated in the October Manifesto of the Czar granting the people representation, and establishing the Duma. In the same year there was called the first trade union conference, in which 26 Moscow unions and 10 unions from other towns were represented, and a second conference was held in 1906, at which time it was calculated that there were in Russia over 200,000 organized workers.

However, the flowering period of labor union growth

was very brief indeed. The 1905 Revolution was soon defeated in bloody repression and ruthless extermination of all organized social and labor organizations. Most of the unions were prohibited and legislated out of existence, their leaders arrested and exiled to Siberia, their funds confiscated, and reaction again became rampant. In 1907 alone more than 104 trade unions were put out of existence. However, labor unionism was simply driven underground and a nucleus organization remained until 1912 and 1913, when the trade union movement revived, although it again practically disappeared at the beginning of the World War and during it.

The Trade Union Movement After the 1917 Revolution

With the abdication of Nicholas in March, 1917, Russia entered a new era. The workers immediately began to organize, and on March 15, 1917, 22 trade unions met in Moscow and created a Council of Trade Unions. A similar Council was organized in Petrograd. This Council of workers' delegates played an important rôle in the government, had its representatives in the provisional ministry, and began at first with presenting economic demands to the Provisional Government, and later turned to the radical demand of "All Power to the Soviets."

The Third Trade Union Conference, which was the first legal labor union congress in Russia, was held in 1917 with 220 delegates representing 967 unions and 51 central bureaus, with a total membership of 1,475,249. The conference passed a number of resolutions, demanding Factory Committees and their control by the unions, certain restrictions of female labor, and also unemploy-

ment, conciliation boards, industrial courts, factory inspection, an eight-hour day, etc.

The strong organization of workers led also to an organization of employers, who, as already mentioned, combined in an "All-Russian Conference of Employers' Organizations" in Petrograd in 1917. At this conference 2,000 enterprises, with 1,500,000 employees, were represented, and the "All-Russian League of Manufacturers' Associations" was organized with the purpose "to unite the employers in defense of the interests and to establish guarantees for the protection of employees and for the abolition of the Factory Committees with factory management."

Practically the whole period of eight months under the Provisional Government was a period of labor disturbances, extensive strikes and strenuous efforts by the workers to take over the government for themselves by means of the rising power of the Bolshevik group in the revolutionary movement.

Certain it is that during the "ten days that shook the world" and gave the Bolsheviks the victory and assured them the future dominance of the country, the workers' organizations played an important rôle and were the mainstay with the soldiers in the winning of the revolutionary movement.

Trade Unions During Military Communism

After the victory of the Bolsheviks, the pretensions of the trade unions and workers' organizations knew no bounds and demands were made by the trade unions for full control of all industry and production. Especially was this the case after the sabotage and the running

away and emigration of the technical management of the industrial establishments, and after confiscation of most of the establishments by the government. Indeed, the first All-Russian Trade Union Congress, which met at the beginning of January, 1918, in Petrograd, demanded the control and regulation of industry by the workers and their organizations. The same congress advocated "the closest coöperation and inseparable connection between the trade unions and the Soviets of Workers' Delegates," and added that "in the process of development the trade unions will inevitably be converted into organs of socialized government, participation in which will be obligatory for all persons engaged in any given industry."

In the first (1918), second (1919), and third (1920), trade union congresses, the relative number of communists was gradually increased, the influence of the small group of opposition to control of industry by unions lessened, and the Factory Committee was made a nucleus of the trade union organization in domination of industry and production. The Labor Commissariat itself was subordinate to the trade unions. The number of workers' organizations, of course, increased correspondingly with the number of organized workers. The first congress represented about 2,500,000 workers, while at the third congress in 1920 nearly 5,000,000 workers were represented.

The Present Structure of the Labor Unions in Russia

The labor unions in Soviet Russia are an integral part of the economic, political and cultural life of the country. Under a régime which claims to be the dictatorship of the proletariat, the labor unions are official representa-

tives and participators in the dictatorship, with important functions in the government, in the political structure of the country, in the economic determination of production, and in the cultural development of the working population. The labor unions also play a paramount rôle in labor protection, in the protection of the various interests of the workers, their members.

There are no craft unions in Russia. All labor unions are on an industrial basis, that is, they unite the workers and employees of a given industry, independently of the particular functions which they perform. All workers in a factory belong to the same union no matter whether one performs one task or another and whether they are skilled or unskilled. Craft trade unionism is restricted. Labor unions in Russia are official. Their number is definitely determined and there cannot be two or more unions in one industry. There are only 23 official labor unions in the country. These are as follows:

1. Employees and workers in medical and sanitary services (doctors, nurses, hospital nurses, hospital porters, hospital attendants, pharmacists).
2. Transport workers (railwaymen, sailors, stevedores, chauffeurs, etc.).
3. Miners and all those working in and about mines.
4. Woodworkers.
5. Land and forest workers.
6. Art workers (actors, choristers, musicians, artists, theatrical, circus and cinema employees).
7. Workers engaged in public feeding and housing.
8. Leather workers.
9. Metal workers.
10. Workers and employees in communal service (drains, water supply, militia, fire brigade, bath employees, laundry employees, hairdressers, street lighting employees).

11. Workers in education and socialist culture (public teachers, professors, high school and university staff, school porters, etc.).
12. Employees in public communications (post, telegraph, telephone and radio).
13. Printers.
14. Workers in the paper industry.
15. Workers in the food industry (bakers, confectioners, sausage makers, flour millers, etc.).
16. Building and construction workers.
17. Workers in the sugar industry.
18. Tobacco workers.
19. Textile workers.
20. Chemical workers (soap, perfume, explosive and match factories).
21. Workers in the clothing industry (outer and under garments, hats, etc.).
22. Employees in taxation, finance, control and other government departments.

All persons working in an industry are entitled to be accepted as members of the labor union of that industry. The admission, however, is restricted only to those working for a wage or salary. Persons working for themselves in small production and hiring others, small craftsmen, physicians and lawyers who practice for themselves without occupying state positions, and members of free professions who do not work for a wage or salary cannot be admitted into a labor union. Excluded also are the following: priests, ex-police agents or employees in the official gendarmerie and detective divisions under the Czarist régime, minors under 16, the immediate relatives of the owners of concessions and other establishments, also home-workers.

Members of labor unions are expelled if convicted for a felony, if they become strike-breakers, if they are three

months in arrears with their dues without valid reasons, if they lose their ability to work.

The labor union membership has steadily increased from less than a million in 1917 to 9,827,000 in the summer of 1927.

The largest unions are those of the land and forest, civil service and commercial employees, railroad workers, metal, textile, educational and building workers. According to the latest figures, over 90 per cent of all eligible workers in the country are members of the labor unions.

Membership dues amount to 2 per cent of the earnings. Dues are collected by a special committee in each establishment. It is estimated that the total income of the trade unions was from fifty to sixty million dollars in 1927.

Organization.—The general organization of all trade unions in the country is the following: (1) the district or county; (2) the provincial; (3) national; (4) federal. All the 23 labor unions, however, are united in the All-Union Congress of Trade Unions which meets every two years and which, through its Executive Committee of about 170 members, guides the general policies of the labor movement. The Executive Committee is known as the Central Council of Trade Unions, which, in turn, appoints a Presidium or Executive Council, which controls, directs and coördinates the work of all the 23 organized industrial unions.

All the national labor unions are subordinated to the Central Council. Its Central Committee has power over the provincial as well as the district branches. It is the only body that can expel or discipline provincial or district organizations. However, provincial, and at times

district unions, may have the power to make collective agreements, except in nationally controlled industries where the collective agreement is negotiated and determined by the Central Committee of the national union.

The form of organization of the labor unions is what is called "democratic centralization." However, it is rather more "centralized" than "democratic." Fifty per cent of the contributions of the members goes to the funds of the Central Committee of the Union.

The delegates of the All-Union Congress are chosen by the lower provincial or district conferences of separate unions, which are entitled to one delegate for every 10,000 members. At the last congress there were 1,600 delegates.

Privileges of Members of Labor Unions.—Members of labor unions enjoy many other privileges besides the protection given them by the labor laws, by the Labor Inspection and their own Factory Committees.

Among the most important of the privileges is the reduction of general taxes for union members. There are many items of taxation, individual as well as collective, from which the union member is exempt. The union members do not pay any permit taxes for their lunch rooms, buffets and clubs. They enjoy a reduction for tickets to theaters and motion pictures. It is easier for a union member to get into educational establishments, especially into factory schools and into the higher schools for factory workers. The trade unionists are also exempt from paying stamp taxes for various papers, books, etc., which they use, also for taxes in matters of arbitration and court procedure. They have also reduction in payments for social insurance. Union members likewise are favored by cheaper rents for housing and are also en-

titled to sojourns in rest-houses, sanatoria, and other institutions as free patients.

The Various Factory Committees

The "Fabcom" or Factory Committee.—This is the cornerstone of the industrial organization and nucleus of the labor union body. Each factory, enterprise, establishment, shop or unit appoints from its membership a Factory Committee. In a factory with from 25 to 300 workers, three members are appointed; five in places where 300 to 1,000 workers are employed; seven from 1,000 to 5,000; and nine in those above 5,000.

The number of members of the Factory Committee is fixed by the Central Committee. They are elected at the meeting of all the factory workers, where every worker has the right to cast a vote. Balloting, however, is by show of hands and committeemen are appointed only from those who belong to the union. The Factory Committee is elected for one year, although it may be recalled by the workers in case of abuse of its powers or negligence, at the request of one-third of the workers.

Depending upon the size of the Factory Committee and upon the work which it has to perform, the members are either continuing in their functions within the factory, giving their spare time to organization work, or are devoting all their time to this work, and in this case are paid by the establishment the same wage as they would be paid if they worked at their jobs.

The Factory Committee plays a very important rôle in the life of the industrial establishment or enterprise and has important functions. Among its many functions are the following: the organization of the trade union in

the shop; discipline of the workers; supervision of rules and enforcement of the Labor Commissariat and of the instructions of the Council of National Economy; the raising of the production and maintenance of the normal output; the control of the carrying out of wage agreements; the supply of articles of primary necessity to the workers; the carrying out of the decision of courts and arbitration and conciliation boards; control of the hiring and firing of workers according to the decrees of the labor exchanges and instructions of the Council; and, last, but not least, the cultural development of the workers, the establishment of schools, libraries, reading-rooms, labor headquarters, playgrounds, kindergartens, nursery homes, etc.

The Rôle of the Factory Committee in Labor Protection

The principal function of the unions and their representatives in the provincial district councils as well as within the establishment itself is the protection of the individual workers in their economic, political and other rights.

All wage contracts, individual and collective agreements are made through the Factory Committee and through the organs of the unions which see to it that the worker is placed in as high a wage rank as possible and as he is entitled to. Without this protection the worker would be subject to a possible exploitation by unscrupulous employers.

The union also protects the worker in all matters of dispute, conflict, and questions of right of discharge, which may come up during employment. The union, through its organs, and especially through its social in-

surance activities, takes care of the worker during sickness, unemployment, invalidity, or in case of death. The organs of the union are appealed to when the worker is seeking reduction of the hours of labor according to the work which he is doing, the weekly rest and vacations, and his assignments to the rest houses and sanatoria to which he is entitled.

The other important functions of the committee are the protection of the worker within the shop in so far as it relates to safety; prevention of accidents; sanitary comforts and conveniences; the assignment of special clothing, goggles, shoes and other measures for protection against the dangers of trades; the special food necessary when working with certain dangerous materials; and general prophylaxis of the risks and dangers of various occupations.

Another form of labor protection which becomes the duty of the unions and their representatives is judicial defense of members of the organization whenever this is necessary. The trade union also acts as a part of the labor courts and the various chambers of conciliation and arbitration. Trade unions have also an important function in participation in the projects for additional labor legislation and in the procedure for increasing the protection of workers by additional legislation.

Among other duties of the union representatives is that of selecting and controlling the labor inspectors who are the organs of the administration of labor laws and the enforcement of the labor code. The labor inspectorship is entirely under the control of the Factory Committees and the district and provincial trade unions and thus furthers the protection of the workers by control of the labor law enforcement machinery.

The Factory Committee has sub-committees on increased production of labor, on culture, on labor protection, on price-settlements and conflicts, and on standardization. A member of the Factory Committee is usually Chairman of each sub-committee, to serve on which other workers in the establishment may be recruited.

The Production Committee.—The Production Committee has the important function of raising the standard of production in each shop. There are about 50,000 of such committees in the country. Often the members of the District Production Committee call a conference of all in the district. Their main purpose is to increase the output of the individual workers, to introduce machinery and mechanical devices and what they call “rationalization of industry and scientific management of production.”

The Committee on Cultural and Educational Work.—This Committee is also of great importance. Its functions are the “liquidation of illiteracy,” the organization of reading-rooms and clubs, the conduct and editing of the “Sten-Gazzetta,” the wall newspaper, in which most of the happenings of the establishment and the workers are noted, organization of libraries, physical culture, recreation, as well as the supervision of the technical schools in the factory and the preparation of the more intelligent workers for the “Rabfaks,” or the Workers’ Faculties of higher educational institutions. A part of the Cultural Committee is also the so-called “Fabcor,” or the factory correspondent, who reports on all happenings and gives vent to criticisms on noted abuses in the party papers and other organs of the trade union movement.

Committee on Protection of Labor.—We have noted already that the protection of workers in each establishment is a matter of concern of the Factory Committee. However, the law prescribes that the Factory Committee organize a *special* Committee on Labor Protection in each factory, of which committee one or two members of the Factory Committee may be the guiding spirits. This Committee is to be selected from the active workers in the concern and is to consist of three to seven members, according to the size of the establishment.

The work of this Committee and its meetings, proceedings, reports, etc., are prescribed by the law. The Labor Protection Committee works in close contact with other committees as well as with the labor inspectors. While the inspectors visit the establishment only at certain intervals, the Committee is there all the time. It has the following important functions: (a) to see that all rules of the Labor Code in regard to protection of workers and to collective agreements are enforced; (b) to see that the instructions and orders of the labor inspectors are carried out; (c) to see to the improvement of the sanitary and hygienic conditions within the shop (although in this respect the rules forbid the Committee to interfere with any of the matters which are beyond their ken and which need expert knowledge); (d) to see to the provision of special clothing necessary for special work; (e) to participate in deliberations for new equipment and improvement in protection of workers; (f) to fight against accidents.

The Price Settlement and Conflict Committee.—The Labor Code establishes two procedures for the adjudication of conflicts arising between workers and employers,—one through the compulsory interference of the

people's courts; the other through conciliation and arbitration, either by the Price Settlement and Conflict Committee or by the Conciliation Chambers and Arbitration Councils.

The more important actions against employers go to the special sessions of the people's courts. In these are included: interference of the employer with the Labor Code, all acts against the collective agreement, all acts of the employers interfering with the Factory Committee, trade unions and their representatives, the placing of workers in conditions which are inimical to their health and life. The decisions of these courts may be appealed to to the higher provincial courts.

Ordinary conflicts between employers and employees are under the jurisdiction of the Price Settlement Committees, which consist of an equal number of representatives of the trade union and of those connected with the administration of the enterprise. The functions of these committees are: to see that the collective agreement is adhered to; that the workers are properly placed in their categories and classes; and to see to the norms of time and piece-work, the forms of examination and trial for different jobs, the control of overtime work, the control of discharge of workers for valid reasons, the working out of rules and regulations for the conduct of the establishment, the control over monetary compensation for rest periods, etc., and various other functions connected with the wages, time, etc. This Committee therefore has an important function in the shop.

The Committee must hold hearings on conflicts within twenty-four hours after a complaint is registered. Decisions are by mutual agreement. Should a disagreement follow, the matter is referred either to the Conciliation

Chamber or to the Arbitration Court. Decisions by agreement are obligatory on both sides.

The Conciliation Chambers are organized for each special case which cannot be decided upon by mutual agreement. These chambers are organized in conjunction with the local representatives of the Commissariat of Labor. In case the matter is not decided upon in the Conciliation Chambers, an Arbitration Court of three persons may be organized. The court consists of one representative of each contending side, with an Impartial Chairman appointed by mutual consent. Their decision is final, unless it is set aside by special organs of the Commissariat of Labor.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LABOR CODE OF 1922, EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES

The Labor Code

ALL matters pertaining to labor are guided by the Labor Code of 1922, which was an essential modification of the Labor Law of 1918, issued and promulgated during the period of military communism. The Labor Code of 1922 has been amended from time to time. Like all codes it is not final. Many of its provisions need considerable elucidation and various commentators and critics have given this. At present several commissions are working to simplify the Labor Code or to propose a new improved code.

The Labor Code was issued before the division of the country into various republics and the new Labor Code is to simplify and unify all provisions of the labor law by joint action of all the Soviet Republics. The new codification of labor laws is at present widely discussed.

Universality.—The most characteristic fundamental feature of the Labor Code is its *universality*, that is, its application to *all forms* of hired labor in *all* trades and vocations whatsoever. It embraces private as well as government enterprises. It includes field, forest, farm and domestic labor, home work, transportation, military and naval work, seasonal and temporary labor, work in prisons, etc. ✓

Employment

Another basic feature of the law is the matter of employment. This may be by individual agreement between worker and employer, or there may be employment through the Labor Exchanges, for which the monopoly is given to the State. No private Labor Exchanges are permitted in the country.

These exchanges exist in all provincial and county cities, or in smaller places in connection with the labor inspectors' bureaus. The employer is permitted to select any one or more persons from those referred to him by the Labor Exchange.

There are certain limitations of employment which are of importance. Thus, each enterprise and employer is obliged to employ a certain number of minors with his adult workers, a certain number of graduates of higher technical schools, and a certain number of ex-soldiers. The employer is also obliged to pay the wages of one or more members of the Factory Committees.

The agreements for employment are made for a period of no longer than one year, or by the job. Collective agreements are made with the trade unions. Each worker is provided with an account booklet, in which the terms of his individual or collective agreement are definitely stated, his wages, hours, etc., and which he must carry with him during his employment.

The trade unions are permitted to demand the ending of a labor contract prior to its term, while individual workers have a right to leave their work provided they give the employer one day's notice. Generally, the law very much favors the employee instead of the employer in the matter of discharge and stoppage of employment.

For the purpose of employment as well as determination of wages, etc., all workers are classified according to their functions as well as according to the risks and dangers connected with their work. This classification of all workers into classes, groups, divisions and sub-divisions, and the classification of professions, are important features of the Labor Code, and are functions of the Commissariat of Labor after conference with the unions and the local organs of the Commissariat of Labor. The classification is not, of course, perfect or final, and leads to a great many disputes and difficulties in the employment and wage determinations of workers.

Wages

In theory the fixing of wages for all kinds of labor is a matter of private or collective agreement with each individual or with the unions. In practice, however, the state fixes a minimum wage for all kinds and conditions of labor. This minimum wage is the lowest norm of wage payment throughout a district. The wage is fixed by the Commissariat of Labor every three or six months and varies according to the district in which the establishment is located.

For the first three months of 1927 the minimum wage was determined to be 7 rubles, 7½, 8, 9 and 10 rubles per month, according to the part of the country in which the establishment was located. The minimum wage for Moscow and Leningrad provinces was 10 rubles.

This minimum is only for the lowest unskilled labor and is increased according to the grade in which the worker belongs. The fact has already been mentioned that all workers are divided into certain classes accord-

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ing to their skill. The minimum wage therefore is set for the lowest group and is then increased according to 17 categories or classes, with a co-efficient for each class,—such co-efficient being the number multiplying the lowest standard of minimum wage. The categories and co-efficients are as follows:

<i>Class</i>	<i>Co-efficient</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Co-efficient</i>
I	1.0	X	4.2
II	1.2	XI	4.6
III	1.5	XII	5.0
IV	1.8	XIII	5.5
V	2.2	XIV	6.2
VI	2.5	XV	6.7
VII	2.8	XVI	7.2
VIII	3.1	XVII	8.0
IX	3.5		

According to this table, a worker who belongs to Class XVII receives eight times the minimum wage, which, if it is 10 rubles, would give a wage of 80 rubles per month. If the minimum wage is higher, of course, the co-efficient holds good, and the wage is considerably increased.

In practice, of course, the wage depends a great deal also upon supply and demand. It is usually quite low in Russia although not much lower than for similar work in some of the backward countries of Europe.

According to statistics furnished in the summer of 1927, the average earnings of two and a half million workers engaged in manufacturing and mining in May, 1927, were 62.6 rubles or \$32.00 per month; in transportation 70.5 rubles; in government employment 65.3 rubles; or an average of about 64 rubles. The purchasing power of the ruble, however, is about that of the dollar.

Piece-work.—Wage agreements for time, for daily, weekly or monthly periods, are not obligatory, although

they represent a large percentage of agreements, especially in government, commercial, and similar work. Piece-work is permitted and is preferred by the government for the purpose of increased production so necessary to the country. The basis for all piece-work is the normal daily production and the normal wage per diem. Thus, if the normal wage per day is 1 ruble, and the normal production by a worker is, say 25 units, the wage per piece or amount is 4 kopeks, and is considered the basis for all wages of all workers of the shop. The workers who will therefore produce instead of 25, 40 units, will receive 1.60 (R), while the one producing only 20 will receive only 80 kopeks.

Consideration is given also for certain conditions which may interfere with normal production, such as poor equipment, inadequate or poor materials, and bad sanitary and hygienic conditions, such as bad illumination or ventilation, which seriously interfere with the amount of production. In these cases, additions of pay are given per unit, or per diem.

The matters of wages come within the jurisdiction of the Price Settlement and Conflict Committee and are supervised by the Factory Committee and the inspectors of labor. Bonuses may be given for increase in the amount of work and production. However, for slow workers no deductions are made to less than two-thirds of their daily earnings. For spoilage no fines are generally permitted, but a worker may be discharged in case of constant and repeated spoilage of material.

Theoretically, no lowering of wages is permitted for the work of women and minors. Their pay for the day as well as piece-work must be the same as adult men, but because of the lower categories in which the women

and minors generally work and belong, their wages are usually lower than those of adult males.

The piece-work rate, being based on the daily normal wage, is reckoned according to the number of hours worked in each trade. Where the eight-hour work-day is prevalent, each hour means one-eighth of the wage. Where six hours work is prevalent, each hour means one-sixth of the wage.

When overtime is permitted the wage for the day as well as piece-work is one and a half times for the first and second hour of overtime; the third and fourth hours, double the normal rate. Overtime is not, however, always controlled in farm, home, or domestic service, or in transportation work.

For night-work, workers receive an addition of one-seventh of the hourly rate in an eight-hour day and one-fifth in a six-hour day.

No deductions are made from wages of workers during non-employment which is caused by the fault of employers, unavoidable climatic conditions, or by insufficiency of materials, breakages of tools, nor may deductions be made for necessary absence of workers during election time, for attendance at conferences and congresses, for the work of factory committees, etc., etc.

The law also regulates the time when wages are to be paid, the character of payments, the permission for payment in kind, etc., in all cases protecting the worker as much as possible.

Deductions for debts of workers are not permitted except when these debts are to other workers, and then to the extent of only twenty per cent of the wage.

All matters of dispute relating to wages go first to the Price Settlement and Conflict Committee and then to the organs already indicated for final adjudication.

CHAPTER FIVE

HOURS OF LABOR AND REST PERIODS

ONE of the best criterions of the extent of labor protection in a country is its legislation as to hours of labor and rest periods in industry. The shorter day's work has been a demand of all trade unions and labor organizations since their inception and has been the bone of contention and the cause of more strikes and work stoppages than any other demand of the workers. There is legislation on hours of labor of workers in almost all civilized countries. The extent, however, of such legislation varies greatly with each country and each period. In some countries the hours of labor of adults are not at all legislated upon, most of the legislation referring to the hours of labor of women and minors.

For many decades workers have put upon their program the demand for a universal eight-hour day, but while they have obtained such a day in certain limited trades, there is no universal application of this law in most countries. For a few years during and after the World War, when labor was in great demand, eight-hour laws were promulgated in many industries in a number of countries, and at the First International Labor Conference at Washington, in 1918, the principle of the eight-hour-day law was accepted by the representatives of the various participating countries, employees as well as employers. However, but very few countries put in practice what was agreed upon in theory and at present

there are very few countries where a universal eight-hour labor day prevails.

Russia is the main exception. Its Labor Code has gone further in the direction of reducing hours of labor than any other Labor Code of any other country.

Under the Provisional Government as well as during the first few years of military communism, there was no possibility of reduction of hours of labor for the reason of the economic chaos and industrial anarchy then existing, and, of course, under the Czarist régime hours of labor were much longer, usually between ten and a half and twelve hours. According to B. Marcus, who cites statistics of the Central Council of the Trade Unions, the average length of the labor day in Russia was from 7.8 to 7.9 hours in 1923, 7.7 to 7.8 in 1924, and 7.6 in 1925, for each worker. This includes overtime, which was on an average of 16 to 17 minutes a day in 1923; from 11 to 12 minutes in 1924, and 10 minutes in 1925.

The principles of a shorter work-day, laid down in the Soviet Code of Laws, are the following:

1. A universal eight-hour labor day.
2. A six-hour labor day for intellectual and for office workers.
3. A reduced labor day in trades and industries with special hazards to the workers.
4. Reduced hours during night work.
5. Reduced hours for women and minors.
6. Limitation and restriction of overtime permitted during day, week or month.
7. Special rest periods during the day, week and year.

Universal Eight-Hour Labor Day.—According to Paragraph 94 of the Code of Labor Laws, the normal work-day must not exceed eight hours. Exceptions to this law are permitted only in certain seasonal trades,

in certain day work, on special jobs, on farm and forest work during heights of season, etc., and in transportation.

Six-Hour Labor Day for Intellectual and Office Workers.—All workers in intellectual pursuits and those engaged in office work do not exceed six hours' labor per day. The Commissariat of Labor determines in every case what is understood under intellectual labor and what is meant by office work. Exceptions to this rule for intellectual and office workers are permitted when these workers are directly attached to an industrial or other establishment where the eight-hour work-day is in force. Thus, the working hours of intellectual and office workers are six a day in independent jobs, but they are eight hours if the jobs are a part of the productive work of an establishment.

Reduced Hours in Hazardous Trades.—The principle is accepted by the Labor Code that the hours of labor permitted for a work-day should correspond to the risks and dangers found in each trade. Thus, while eight hours is the rule for physical workers, workers in a large number of industries, where special hazards exist, are not permitted to work more than six hours. At the same time there are certain branches of trades, especially those of mining, and in handling lead and other poisons, where the hours of labor are reduced to five, four, and even three a day, while in caisson work, at certain pressures, the hours are reduced to even less. In the mining, petroleum, gas, and certain other industries, the six-hour day prevails. Divers work only four hours; certain lead workers only three hours.

Reduced Hours During Night Work.—The Labor Code reduces the hours of labor by one in all industries to those who work between 9 P.M. and 6 A.M. Thus, workers who

in the daytime are permitted to work eight hours, work only seven during the night; six hours are reduced to five.

Reduced Hours for Minors.—A six-hour work-day is the rule for minors between sixteen and eighteen years.

Limitation of Overtime.—Overtime is permitted in certain trades at certain times of the year but must not exceed four hours in two consecutive days. As already indicated, workers are entitled for the first two hours of overtime to one and a half times their wages, and for other hours to double wages. Overtime may be permitted in each case by the inspectors of labor or the Provincial Bureau and must not exceed 120 hours per year. Neither the eight-hour law nor overtime rules are valid in the case of home workers, domestics, in transportation work and in certain military, naval, post, telegraph and other industries defined by the Commissariat of Labor.

Rest Periods.—The law requires certain rest periods daily, weekly, monthly and yearly. During the day rest periods of half-hour to an hour are allowed for meals; also for nursing mothers to nurse their children. A weekly continuous rest period of forty-two hours is required, differing on the day of the week according to the religious custom of the population. Thus, the rest period is Saturday and Sunday for Christians, Friday and Saturday for Jews, and Thursday and Friday for Mohammedans.

A monthly rest period of 150 hours for six-hour workers, 171 for seven-hour workers, and 192 for eight-hour workers is required. Certain holidays are also to be observed with a shorter labor day on the eve of these holidays.

Another interesting feature of the Russian labor law is the provision for yearly vacations for workers. All workers are entitled to two weeks' vacation annually, intellectual and office workers to four weeks' vacation,

workers in special hazardous trades to four weeks' vacation;—all these vacations with full pay. Besides these vacations, workers in certain trades, suffering from temporary illness due to their vocation, are given additional vacations by the Social Insurance Department or by their unions, in the special rest houses which have been provided for the purpose. More than 600,000 workers are thus sent for special vacations.

The Crimea and other southern provinces are dotted with former palaces of the Czar and the nobility which are at present used as rest houses for the benefit of the proletariat. A large number of workers usually apply for their vacation and rest periods and sanatorium treatment, especially in the spring, and the office of the Commissariat of Health, when the writer visited it in June, was crowded with large groups of those seeking their permits and transportation for the rest homes.

A Maximum Seven-Hour Labor Day.—At the tenth anniversary of the November Revolution in 1927, the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. issued the following decree: "In regard to industrial workers in the factories and workshops, to insure during the next years the transition from the eight-hour work-day to the seven-hour work-day, without reducing the wages, the Central Executive Committee shall proceed not less than in a year's time to the gradual enforcement of the seven-hour day in all branches of industry in conformity with the progress of re-equipment and rationalization of the factories and workshops and the growth in the productivity of labor." Accordingly, in 23 large industrial establishments the seven-hour day has already been introduced with many other establishments promising to introduce the seven-hour day within a year or less.

CHAPTER SIX

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND MINORS

Women

WOMAN has always been a beast of burden in Russia, as in many other European countries. She participates in all the hard work on farm and field, on road and river, in house and home.

However, the participation of women in industrial labor was not widespread and the percentage of woman workers in factories and shops was never too great. In 1901, there were in the factories and workshops under the jurisdiction of the factory inspectors, 441,012 women out of 1,692,255 workers, or about 26 per cent. The percentage of women workers steadily increased after that; it was 31 per cent in 1914 and 40 per cent in 1917 during the height of the War; in 1923 there was a reduction to 29.5 per cent, in 1924 to 27.5 per cent, and in 1926, to 26.9 per cent.

In the ranks of trade unions the number of women is also on the decrease. Thus, in 1920, the percentage of women in trade unions was 39; in 1923, 27.3 and in October, 1925, 24.7.

Women are usually unqualified workers, unskilled and technically untrained. Women are predominant in those establishments where they do either simple hard labor, or other work which needs simple motions and requires very little previous training. The percentage of women

in certain special trades like mining, chemical, petroleum, coal, is very small.

The fact that most women perform simple tasks and are technically untrained makes their jobs unstable, and paid for by a comparatively low wage. The wage of women is about 60 per cent that of men, in spite of the fact that no discrimination for sex is permitted in calculating wages.

Legislation, no matter how well meaning, can do and does very little for women on farms and fields. There the hours of labor and the amount of work cannot be determined or legislated upon. It is not less difficult to control and protect women workers in domestic and in home trades. Outside of these fields, the protection of women workers according to the Russian Labor Code is as follows:

1. Women enjoy all the protective clauses pertaining to male workers.

2. Women are prohibited from working in certain specially difficult or hazardous occupations. The "Narkomtrud," or Commissariat of Labor, issues a list of trades and special processes in which the work of women is absolutely prohibited. These include underground mining, work with rubber, benzol, and trinitrotoluol, in foundries, gas scrubbers, in lead, copper, mercury, zinc, silver and other mines, in places where there is too high or too low temperature, in stereotype foundries, in smithies, in lumber work, etc.

3. Women are prohibited from working in any place where they habitually lift weights heavier than ten pounds. Where carrying of weights is part of their work, the duration of this kind of work must not exceed one-third of the work-day.

4. As a rule, women are prohibited from working during the night between 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. Exceptions are made for places with continuous work and shifts, also on railroads, transports, telegraph and telephone work. However, no women under eighteen years of age, or pregnant or nursing women, are permitted to work at night under any circumstances.

5. Special protection is given to woman workers in case of maternity. All women working in manual labor are free from work for eight weeks prior to confinement and eight weeks thereafter, while women in office work and intellectual pursuits are prohibited from working six weeks before and six weeks after childbirth. Certain woman workers, such as telegraphers, telephone operators, etc., are also included under the sixteen weeks' schedule of protection. The wages and positions of the woman workers freed from work because of maternity, are, however, assured. Full wages are paid by the Social Insurance Department during the twelve or sixteen weeks. Additional financial assistance is given to mothers during the nursing period, which is considered to be seven months, and nursing mothers are allowed a pause every three and a half hours during their work-day for nursing purposes. Most of the factory establishments have nurseries in connection with the establishment.

6. Women workers are also allowed two weeks or longer after an abortion or miscarriage.

Minors

At the International Labor Conference at Washington in 1918, representatives of employers and employees and governments unanimously decided to prohibit work of

minors under fourteen, to prohibit night-work of minors under eighteen, and to prohibit minors from working in poisonous and particularly hazardous occupations.

As is well known, prior to the Russian Revolution, under the Czarist régime, minors over the age of twelve were permitted to work while the restriction for minors between twelve and fifteen was an eight-hour work-day and a nine-hour work-day in continuous occupations.

The percentage of children in industry was comparatively small, there being in 1913 in all industries under the jurisdiction of the factory inspectors, a little above 14 per cent of minors. This increased in 1917 to 18.5 per cent. In 1918, however, it came down to 13.1 per cent and in 1919 to 8.5 per cent, and it has been decreased since.

The Soviet legislation relating to minors does not present many radical features, nor is it very far in advance of the legislation in other countries on the same subject, with a few minor exceptions.

The work of minors under sixteen is prohibited, although labor inspectors may give special permits in exceptional cases to minors between fourteen and sixteen. However, these may not work more than four hours, and are compelled to attend factory schools.

A register must be kept of minors working in factories.

No minors under fourteen may work without a preliminary medical examination and an annual periodical examination until that age. Pupils in factory schools are also to be examined periodically.

Minors between sixteen and eighteen are permitted to work six hours; between fourteen and sixteen, four hours. Of course, no night work is permitted.

Minors under eighteen are prohibited from working in a

large number of trades, including mining, saw-mills, transportation, working on hides, cleaning of cesspools, X-ray work, in radio stations, paper manufacturing, alcohol distilleries, sugar refineries, poisonous trades, etc. However, the law extends but partially to home workers and workers in farm and field. In these cases it is most difficult to control the work of minors, and presumably a large number are working at ages below the legal limit, and for hours ordinarily prohibited in industrial establishments.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SAFETY AND SANITATION

THERE are several radical features in the Soviet legislation relating to safety and sanitation in industrial establishments. During the past five years a large number of rules and regulations, especially pertaining to various industries, have been issued by the Commissariat of Labor, which, together with the labor protection organs of the trade unions, is clothed with authority to issue rules and regulations for all industrial and other enterprises.

Of course, in practice, one finds the multiplicity of rules and regulations rather embarrassing and their practical application doubtful. The economic and industrial life of the community has been so terribly dislocated that it will take years to put them in workable condition. Moreover, Russia has never been famed either for good sanitary or safety conditions in its industries. The employers in Russia were usually backward and conditions in the country,—pre-war, as at present,—were and are much lower in respect to safety and sanitation than in other European countries.

During the war and post-war anarchy and ruin, most of the machinery and equipment in the industrial establishments was seriously damaged and the first efforts of the new industrial managers were chiefly directed to the up-building of the industry itself and to the starting of production on a national scale. Naturally, questions of safeguarding of machinery and putting the plants in a

better technical condition for the prevention of accidents, were matters least thought of.

The number of industrial accidents grew greatly and during 1924 and 1925 it was one and a half times that of the pre-war period. In 1924, the accident rate amounted to 42.7 per thousand working days. In 1925 it was 33.3 per thousand working days. In the same year it ranged from 57.3 in sawmills to 3.0 in the polygraphic trades.

As in other countries, the percentage of accidents due to carelessness of workers is very large. It was 42.8 in 1923 and 33.9 in 1925. This is easily explainable when one takes into consideration the fact that the Russian factory workers usually come from the ranks of peasants who are, as a rule, not technically trained, and in the majority of cases are ignorant, illiterate, and naturally careless.

The number of accidents in some enterprises is appalling. Thus, we read in the *Pravda* the report of a factory employing twenty thousand workers in which during the year there occurred twenty thousand accidents,—one accident per worker.

According to the basic law, as well as to the special rules and regulations for all and various special trades, all machines must be provided with safeguards at the factory where they are made. The law also prohibits the technical staff of the enterprise from installing any new machinery in the shop without preliminary inspection and proper guarding. The law refers not only to industrial machines but also to tractors, agricultural implements, etc. The rules as to motors, transmission, individual machines, to boilers, saws and to special metallurgic, textile and other industries, are very explicit and theoretically up to the standards of safety regulation

in other European countries. So also are the rules as to investigation of accidents, to registration of accidents when they occur, and to compensation for accidents.

As far as sanitation is concerned, it has already been indicated that the standards of sanitation in Russian factories are much below those of other countries. However, there is an indication of a very thorough consideration of these matters and the legislation upon the subject is very thorough and in some respects far advanced compared to that of other countries.

One of the most important paragraphs in the Labor Code is Paragraph 138, which decrees that no establishment may be undertaken, conducted, or transferred into another building without the sanction of the labor inspectors and organs of the sanitary and technical inspection. It further notes that all establishments must take appropriate measures to remove or lessen conditions of work dangerous to health and life, and must follow the rules and regulations issued by the Commissariat of Labor. Machines, motors, and transmission must be stopped whenever possible during pauses and labor intervals.

A very important paragraph of the labor law is the one which compels all establishments where special dangers to health or life exist, such as abnormal temperature or humidity, poisons, etc., to give the workers special clothing and other prophylactic devices, such as goggles, masks, respirators, soap, special articles of food, like fats and milk, and in special poisonous industries the antidotes to the poisons must be available.

Another important provision is one that empowers the Commissariat of Labor and its representatives to order compulsory physical examination of all those who enter the establishments where poisons or other deleterious

materials and processes exist, and a subsequent bi-annual or annual examination.

The passing upon plans and permits of new establishments or establishments moving to other quarters is an important function of the technical and medical inspectors. There were more than 6,000 such plans passed upon in the year 1924, and the number of these is on the increase.

Occupational diseases are regarded in the same category as occupational accidents; they are fully compensated, are subject to registration and investigation, and constitute one of the most important fields of investigation of the medical and factory inspectors. The law gives the Commissariat of Labor, in conjunction with the trade union labor protection organs, the right to prohibit night-work in specially dangerous establishments and gives also the right to the labor inspectors to close an establishment where there is immediate danger to health or life of the workers.

Perhaps it is pertinent at this time to add the fact that the Soviet Government has already prohibited the use of lead paint for internal decoration and has outlawed lead from any use in painting, even outside, beginning with 1931.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS AND FACTORY INSPECTION

IN a previous chapter, describing the low condition of factory inspection and the lack of proper administration of labor laws in pre-revolutionary Russia, I have dwelt upon the importance of proper enforcement of all laws, especially those protecting labor. The employing class is fully cognizant of this importance. As a rule, employers object to all government interference in industry and to labor protective laws, and still more strenuously do they object to a proper administrative machinery and to an adequate and efficient factory inspection force, for the reason that without proper enforcement laws remain dead letters on the statute books.

Many of the shortcomings of labor protection in pre-revolutionary Russia were due to the fact that the employers succeeded in converting the factory inspection force into a state bureaucratic institution and the Factory Inspection Department into a bureau of prevention of strikes and labor disturbances instead of one for the protection of the workers in factories and mills.

Under the Provisional Government in 1917, the Factory Inspection Department functioned but feebly because of the exigencies of the period. With the victory of the Bolsheviks in the fall of that year, the whole Factory Inspection Department was practically abolished, the

factory inspectors dropped their work, many of them emigrated, and the whole machinery for labor enforcement practically ceased to exist. This lasted through the period of military communism. It was a number of years before the new principles of factory inspection advocated by the labor union elements were adopted in theory, and still longer before they were realized in practice. The chasm between the old and the new systems was too wide to be bridged over in a hurry.

The central idea of the new factory inspection reorganization was already evident in the law of 1918, but it was finally crystallized in the law of 1922, which, with a few unimportant changes, is the law to this day.

Cardinal Radical Features

What are the cardinal radical features of the factory inspection law of the Soviet Government? What are the novel ideas introduced by the labor government, and what are the essential points of the new system of factory inspection in the country? They may be summarized as follows: (1) the universality of the administrative powers and the wide extent of the jurisdiction of factory inspection over all places where persons work for wage; (2) the close connection, interdependence and coöperation of the administrative machinery with the labor union organizations; (3) the enlarged personnel and the extension of its functions; (4) the division of factory inspection into three separate classes; (5) the election of labor factory inspectors by the trade unions; (6) the increased powers, extended functions and increased activity of factory inspection; (7) the organization of the Labor Commissariat Bureau of Protection of Labor.

Applicability of Factory Inspection

In pre-revolutionary Russia the jurisdiction of the factory inspectors was limited only to a comparatively small number of industrial establishments, those which had more than twenty workers or had sixteen workers and motor driven machinery. The number of persons, therefore, who enjoyed whatever protection may have been given by the factory inspection department was small in comparison with the number of wage workers throughout the country. The Soviet Labor Law makes the Factory Inspection Service responsible for the enforcement of all laws pertaining to *all* wage workers, whether these are in an industry, mines, transportation, rivers and harbors, state enterprises, army and navy, prisons, domestic, home-work, or farm, field and forest labor. Actually not less than ten million workers are at present under the protection of factory inspectors. Excluded from their jurisdiction is only the great mass of peasants and farmers who hire no labor, and home workers who work without any assistants. This universal applicability of the labor law and the wide jurisdiction of the Factory Inspection Department makes the administration of the labor laws universal, but more difficult, and naturally demands for its proper functioning an enlarged personnel.

*The Central Supervision and Organization of the
Factory Inspection Department*

Administration of labor laws and factory inspection is a function of the Commissariat of Labor and especially of its Bureau of "Okhrana Truda," Labor Protection. As is known, the organization of Soviet Russia is federal as

well as national. The Federal Commissariat of Labor has in its main Labor Protection Bureau the general supervision of all legislative, scientific, economic and political control of the administrative machinery. The central supervision of the labor protection machinery is within the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Labor Protection in the Commissariat of Labor of each national republic. It supervises the personnel in charge of labor protection as well as the various Factory Committees which are working for labor protection in conjunction with the Factory Inspection Department.

The supervision of factory inspection is shared by the provincial and county or district factory inspection division, which are subject to the central organs but have certain autonomy in the solution of local questions of labor protection.

The nomination of labor inspectors and expert inspectors is within the jurisdiction of the district and provincial divisions in conjunction with the labor union conferences in each district and province. The confirmation of the appointment of the inspectors is by the Central Bureau of the Labor Commissariat of each national republic with the consent of the national labor union involved.

Definite Functions of the Factory Inspectors

The functions of the factory inspectors are very extensive and varied. The following is a résumé of the functions:

Administrative.—The execution of orders of the Commissariat of Labor organs; organization of the provincial and district bureaus; control of the various factory inspection units.

Regulation of the Labor Market.—Control of labor exchanges; making of collective agreements; control of illegal employment; voluntary organization of labor exchanges; regulation of unemployment; organization of unemployed; assistance to the unemployed by means of kitchens, tea-rooms, etc.

Regulation of Wages and Wage Conflicts.—Organization of Conciliation Chambers and Arbitration Boards; participation in settling conflicts; representation in labor courts; investigating complaints; starting prosecution, etc.; regulation of collective agreements; control of proper payment of wages; regulation of minimum wages.

Social Insurance.—Control of insurance funds; revision and auditing of the finances of insurance funds; supervision of the application of the social insurance law.

Inspection and Investigations.—Actual field inspections.

Organization and Personnel

The force of factory inspectors is divided into three main classes: (1) labor inspectors; (2) technical inspectors; (3) sanitary or medical inspectors.

The labor inspectors are also divided into territorial and extra-territorial ones. The territorial or district inspectors are appointed for districts and have under their supervision all sorts of establishments irrespective of the industry to which these belong. The extra-territorial inspectors devote their whole energy to the supervision of special branches of labor. Thus there are three main extra-territorial forces, those of railroad and river transportation, of farm and forest work, and of the building trade. The technical inspectors also have a special extra-

territorial railroad and transportation and a special mining corps.

Number.—The total number of inspectors in the country has been reported to the writer by Chief Inspector Laschenko as of June, 1927, as follows: Labor Inspectors, 1,200; technical inspectors, 600; and sanitary inspectors, 400. There is a Chief Inspector in each class of inspectors. There are also Chief Provincial and District Inspectors and when two inspectors are assigned to a district, one is regarded as a senior inspector and the other as an assistant.

Selection.—One of the most interesting and radical features of the Soviet Russian factory inspection is the selection of labor inspectors through nomination and appointment by the labor unions in each district or province. The labor inspectors do not undergo any civil service or other tests. They are simply selected from the ranks of the workers by the conferences of the labor unions in each district, or in each section of the country, and are subject to recall and discharge by these labor conferences. Their nomination and selection is confirmed by the district and higher organs of the Commissariat of Labor, but the selection is practically left to the labor unions themselves.

The technical force, engineers as well as physicians, are appointed by the Central Bureaus of Labor Protection, while they are nominated by the district and provincial labor, medical, and engineering unions and conferences.

There are few women among the labor inspectors in Russia. In 1926, the percentage of women was 5.8.

The number of common workers in the labor inspection force has steadily increased. It was 60 per cent in

1919; 72.6 per cent in 1922, and in 1926 it reached 75 per cent. In 1925, peasants constituted 10.9 per cent of the force.

As far as schooling is concerned, the labor inspection force was recruited as follows in 1925: those having home education, 7.3; primary school, 81.8; grammar school, 8.6; high school, 0.2 per cent, the bulk therefore having but a primary education.

Politically, the percentage of communists among the labor inspectors was 81.9 in 1926.

Salaries.—The salaries of labor inspectors range from 120 to 150 rubles a month and are about on the same level as salaries of ordinary state employees with important functions. The salaries of medical inspectors range from 180 to 300 rubles and those of technical inspectors from 300 to 350.

Turn-over.—The turn-over in the labor inspection force is very great. While they are elected and appointed for a term of one year, they are often recalled by the labor unions, who are responsible for their appointment, as many of them are found unfit for their duties. The turn-over of the inspectorial force was in 1924 more than 42 per cent. In some provinces, like that of Tver, it was two-thirds of the whole number in six months, and in Leningrad it was 94.3 per cent.

There was also an attempt to appoint from the ranks of the communistic youth, of eighteen years and over, assistant inspectors, one assistant inspector to a labor inspector. This has been found impracticable, probably due to the low qualifications of the workers in the field of factory inspection.

The labor inspectors as well as the technical and medical inspectors have the right of entry, day and night,

and right of conducting hearings and prosecutions. They also must be provided with free transportation on railroads and to factories and are provided by employers with offices as well as with sleeping accommodations.

The labor inspectors must keep regular office hours in the various establishments which they visit and arrange for a reception of workers with complaints, two or three times a week, in the evening, if possible.

Duties of Labor Inspectors

These are varied and many. Among the duties are the following: inspection of establishments, factories, mills, etc., keeping of books, supervision of registers, posting of labor laws and work booklets; the inspection of the list of workers, women and minors; supervision of the hours of labor of women and minors, of overtime, of lunch-hours; regulation of night-work; inquiries about pauses and vacations; regulation of wages; participation in conferences on sanitation and safety; assistance to the technical and medical inspectors; inspection and finding of defects in ventilation, light, etc.; provision of special clothing and food in dangerous trades; supervision of the social insurance funds and of the various coöperative enterprises such as housing, lunch-rooms, baths, etc.; supervision of the reporting of accidents, keeping of notification and other books; also cultural-educational work, levying of fines for violations, starting and conducting of prosecutions, etc.

The labor inspectors have the right of arrest and commitment for forty-eight hours of violators of the labor law, if they think that these may run away. They also have the right to close an establishment after consulta-

tion with the technical and medical inspectors, if in their opinion there is immediate danger to health or life of the workers.

Violations and Prosecutions.—In 1924, in every 100 inspections the factory inspectors found 26 violations. In 1925 the percentage of violations was less.

Labor inspectors usually make between ten and twenty inspections a month. Those who have much traveling to do make less, others more. In 1925, the average number of inspections was about fourteen. As a rule, inspectors cover about thirty establishments a month; the inspection of big establishments usually takes about one day, while several smaller establishments may be inspected in one day. In the textile trade, factories are usually inspected about three times a year.

In 1924, there were 54,000 violations of the law found by the labor inspectors. In this year, the number of violations in private enterprises were 59.8 per cent; in coöperative enterprises, 7.9 per cent, and in state enterprises, 6.6 per cent, showing that most violations were found in private enterprises. Most of the violations related to the hours of labor of women. Of those charged with violations and brought to court in 1923, there were freed 18.3 per cent, fined 53.4 per cent, and imprisoned 15.3 per cent; two violators were condemned to hard labor. In 1925, the percentage of those arrested was 17.7.

Technical Inspectors

The inclusion of engineers, specialists and technicians in a factory inspectorial force is of comparatively recent date. The practice is oldest in Germany and has not yet been introduced in all other European countries. Even

in the United States, the appointment of engineer specialists in safety, illumination, electricity and other branches is but of recent date and only in a few of the more advanced states.

Most of the provisions of the labor law in olden times applied only to wages, hours of labor of women and minors, and therefore there was rarely a need for technically trained inspectors. Only since safety and sanitation became such an important part of factory inspection have technical men been appointed to take charge of the especially difficult matters requiring special technical knowledge and experience.

In Russia there were few technical inspectors before the revolution. During the military communistic period there were none. It was a time when technicians and specialists were at a discount and were often assigned to labor not in their specialty, most of the technicians being regarded as members of the despised capitalistic class. Soon, however, it became apparent that this was a wrong policy, and the need of specialists was recognized in all fields of economic production. The specialists themselves have contributed a great deal toward this change by forsaking the hostile attitude which they adopted during the first years of the revolution. At present technicians and engineers are highly prized in Russia; they occupy responsible positions and are paid high salaries by the state.

In factory inspection, the use of technically trained men has been growing since 1921, so that there are now no less than 600 engineer technical inspectors. These are all graduates of high technical schools and faculties and usually have a number of years of experience before they are appointed as inspectors. There are no illuminating or electrical inspectors; most of them are technical

engineers, inspectors of boilers, etc. Most of the inspectors have had ten years or more experience, and, in 1926, 86.4 per cent of them were graduates of higher technical schools.

The aim and purpose of technical inspection is the technical supervision of safety and prevention of accidents in all factories, mills and other places of work and the study of the conditions of safeguarding labor and of introducing improvements for the prevention of accidents in these establishments. The technical inspection is territorial and extra-territorial. The extra-territorial inspection consists of the technical inspection of railroad and river transportation, of boilers, and of mines and quarries.

The duties of the technical inspectors are as follows: (a) regular inspection and investigation of the establishments in their districts; (b) systematic investigation of industrial accidents and measures for their prevention; (c) preliminary inspection of places requiring permits and licenses, passing upon plans and incorporation of necessary technical improvements for safety and sanitation; (d) supervision and testing of all steam boilers and also of locomotives on railroads and steamers; (e) inspection of elevators and other mechanical devices, machines and apparati; (f) conferences on safety and accident prevention; (g) educational work among labor unions and factory committees, in safety and in accident prevention.

The technical inspectors have the right to close establishments when in their opinion these are dangerous to health or life. In case of violations, and in case of requirement of important alterations, etc., the technical inspectors do not directly require these from the proprie-

tors but do it through the medium of the labor inspectors.

The number of technical inspectors is at present 600. They are nominated by the technical engineering societies with the consent of the labor unions, and are appointed by the Commissariat of Labor. Their salaries range from 300 to 350 rubles per month. In 1924, they made a little less than 15 inspections a month or about 177 during the year. Each inspector has about 260 to 300 establishments under his control and sees them about once a year or once in a year and a half.

The preventive work of technical inspectors is very important. This consists in passing upon plans submitted for new establishments, in inspection of premises before they are licensed, in conferences with employers, technicians and superintendents on safety devices, etc., in conferences with employees and with safety committees on matters relating to safety and accident prevention.

The inspectors in their work gather materials for inclusion in the various museums of safety, and often supervise and hold conferences or exhibitions showing causes of accidents and better means of greater safety. They often give lectures on these subjects before clubs, societies, and workers' organizations, organize schools for the members of the safety committees, and also lecture in factory schools.

This is a very important part of the factory inspection force, which works hard and undoubtedly brings about important results.

Sanitary or Medical Inspectors

Medical factory inspection is also of comparatively recent date. In the United States there are but few states

in which one or more medical factory inspectors have been appointed. In European countries, medical inspectors have special organizations in Belgium, Great Britain, Netherlands, Italy, Austria, and lately in Germany. As yet, the medical inspection force is usually small in most of the countries, and this branch of factory inspection has not yet been properly developed.

Medical factory inspection in Russia also dates back but to 1920. During that year there were only 17 medical inspectors; in 1921, there were 120; in 1922, 291; in 1926, 295; and at present there are about 400. Of the inspectors, there were in 1926, 79.6 per cent men and 20.4 per cent women. All of them are physicians.

According to Kaploun, each medical inspector has about 9,000 to 10,000 workers under his jurisdiction, and this enables him to visit the establishments under his jurisdiction much more often than the technical or the labor inspectors. The medical inspectors are responsible for the hygienic and sanitary conditions in the factories. The labor inspectors have the seniority and are responsible for all inspections in their districts. The medical and technical inspectors are their adjuncts, although they are completely independent in everything within their specialties.

The following are some of the duties of the medical factory inspectors:

1. General investigation, where possible, of the conditions of labor affecting health, and compilation of all information, scientific, statistical, or otherwise, of use in the systematic struggle against industrial diseases.

2. The organization and application of measures of hygienic improvement of production and of conditions and methods of work.

3. Supervision of the execution of legal regulations in the field of industrial hygiene and prevention of accidents.

The concrete tasks carried out by the inspectors in the supervision of undertakings are as follows:

a. Maintenance of existing regulations for the protection of labor. Supervision of sanitary conditions of undertakings and of production from the point of view of industrial hygiene.

b. Study of different occupations and trades from the point of view of their hygiene, and measures for the improvement of conditions of work and the protection of workers and employees against industrial diseases.

c. Study of the pathology of workers and employees (frequency and conditions) in relation to occupation: I—by periodical examination of the personnel; II—by participation in the preparation and study of statistical material of the social insurance banks and medical establishments to which the undertakings concerned are attached; III—by careful study of cases of poisoning or industrial diseases and other observations and researches in general.

d. Supervision of the proper organization of medical attention for workers, employees, and their families.

e. Instruction of the workers in hygiene and the protection of labor.

f. Collaboration with the local services of the Commissariat of Public Health in planning and carrying out measures for prevention of epidemics and contagious diseases among the workers and in the struggle against social diseases, particularly tuberculosis.

g. Participation in the work of social insurance, principally in the classification of industries according to

danger and unhealthiness; collaboration in investigations for determining increases and decreases in the premiums to be paid by undertakings. (According to law undertakings pay different premiums according to the dangers involved, but the factory inspector has the right to make an increase of 25 per cent or a decrease dependent on certain special protective measures.)¹

Coöperation with the Commissariat of Health.—As the medical profession is under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Health, the medical factory inspectors are working in close coöperation with the Commissariat of Health and in many respects are coördinating the work of both branches of protection of labor. Especially important is the work of the medical factory inspectors in prevention of occupational diseases, the supervision, the reporting and notification of these diseases, in the various investigations undertaken to show the relations between the occupation and the health of the workers, and in the educational work for the prevention of these diseases.

In 1924, there were reported in 30 provinces in Russia, 815 occupational diseases. Among these the most frequent were brass-fever, lead poisoning, dermatitis, etc. There were 17 cases of anthrax, 140 cases of lead poisoning and 10 cases of nicotine poisoning. In Moscow Province alone in 1925, there were found 60 cases of occupational poisoning.

¹ Kaploun: *Medical Inspection of Labor and Its Problems in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics*, Studies and Reports Series F (Industrial Hygiene) No. 10, International Labor Office, p. 46.

CHAPTER NINE

SOCIAL INSURANCE

LABOR laws, their enactment, administration, and enforcement, give a certain protection to the workers while they are at work. The protection given, whether it regulates matters of wages, hours of labor, safety or sanitation, is to the worker within his factory, mill or shop, during his working periods.

While protection of workers is needed by them during their work, there is undoubtedly a great need of protection outside their work when, for some reason, the worker is unable to continue his ordinary duties. Labor is full of hazards—accidents from machinery, falls, burns, infections, and occupational diseases, etc. The worker is also subject to sickness, to invalidity, more or less permanent, and, finally, old age and death necessarily loom large before him. Moreover, the worker, while having seemingly a right to work, is not always able to exercise this right. Unemployment is a very frequent occurrence in the life of the worker. All these and other hazards lead on the one hand to loss of wages and earning power to the worker and his family, and on the other hand to increased and extra expenses for medical and other treatment and for other necessities, due to these handicaps.

Theoretically, the worker's wage should be high enough for him to be able to save sufficiently to cover himself during these emergencies. Practically, however, in no country is this the case. No matter how high the wage,

it usually leaves the worker comparatively little for the exigencies of modern economic and social life. He may be able to withstand the hazards of a temporary unemployment period, a slight accident followed by partial and temporary disability; but very few workers indeed are able to provide for the larger hazards and for the more serious accidents, the more prolonged periods of unemployment, and especially for chronic invalidity, old age, etc.

This has been recognized all over the world, except perhaps in the United States, although even here workmen's compensation insurance, which spread during the last fifteen years to almost all the states, is a recognition of the problem and an attempt for its solution.

The remedy for industrial hazards is social insurance—the bearing of the cost of all these hazards, loss of wages, as well as increased expenses, by the industry, by the employers and workers together, and by the public, so that these costs are distributed over the whole population, and the workers insured against these hazards and assured of a certain modicum of relief during the periods of cessation of labor because of these hazards.

Most of the European countries have accepted the principles of social insurance—some of them, notably Germany, for nigh a half century; others, like England, for about fifteen years. At the end of the War, there were only ten European countries by which social insurance was adopted. Since then no less than ten new countries have accepted the principle and introduced more or less complete forms of social insurance.

Social insurance is bound to come in other countries as well, for modern hygiene and modern life have succeeded in largely increasing the life-span of the worker, but

greatly decreasing his working period, leaving a large period of life to the worker after he is scrapped from his industry when he finds himself unemployed, invalidated and suffering from an economic and physical impossibility to continue his work.

In Russia the social insurance laws of the Czarist régime in 1912 were very incomplete, unsatisfactory, insufficient and largely illusory in their effects. Soon after the Revolution, the matter of social insurance came up before the various congresses of the trade unions and finally a new social insurance law was enacted which has been in effect since 1921.

Distinctive Features

There are several distinctive features in the social insurance law of Soviet Russia which render this law much more beneficial to the workers than any other law extant.

In the first place, the benefits of the social insurance act embrace *all* workers, members of labor unions, engaged for hire. In Russia there are at present about nine million wage workers who are benefited by the social insurance law.

Secondly, the organization and control, the collection of the insurance and its expenditure and distribution are all in the hands of the labor unions, the Commissariat of Labor, and the workers themselves.

Thirdly, while in all countries the workers are obligated to contribute a certain percentage of the insurance funds, ordinarily from thirty to forty per cent, in Soviet Russia the workers contribute nothing, but all the funds are collected from the enterprise—the establishment. In other words, a certain per cent of the wages, but not *from*

the wages, is added by the enterprise and is devoted to the purposes of social insurance.

Fourthly, the rate of insurance contributions is larger than in any other country, for while in other countries it ranges from two to four per cent of the wages, in Russia it amounts on the average to not less than fourteen per cent, thus giving three and a half times as much protection as other countries.

Finally, the Soviet social insurance makes the most generous and extensive provisions for payments during temporary and permanent disability, for maternity and child welfare, and especially for medical care.

The Responsibility for the Social Insurance

The responsibility for social insurance and the administration of the social insurance law in Russia is placed upon the Commissariat of Labor, through its Bureau of Central Administration of Social Insurance. The labor unions closely participate in the work of the social insurance. They influence it and in each locality control it. The labor unions initiate all social insurance legislation. They nominate and recommend the appointment of the directors of social insurance institutions and the committees of insurance locals are working in close contact with the workers of each locality and establishment.

However, the social insurance system is not really an organ of the labor union, but is a separate state organization headed by the Commissariat of Labor, although it is based upon close coöperation with the labor unions through all the central, provincial, district and local organizations and committees. Where there are less than 200 insured, local organizations of social insurance are

established. They are also organized into provincial and district councils wherever there are less than 2,000 members. These sections are directed by the nearest district organization. The number of social insurance locals is steadily growing. There were about 600 of these locals at the end of 1926, with nearly 900 insurance sections and with about 1,200 insurance officials.

The central activities of the various national, provincial and district organizations are summarized in the following: (1) to induce employers to insure their labor; (2) to determine the insurance contribution due from each and receive such payments; (3) to control the funds; (4) to pay the benefits to the insured; (5) to organize and manage institutions of the social insurance funds, such as rest homes, sanatoriums, etc.; (6) to organize and direct the control of medical benefits; and (7) to participate in the work of health preservation and prevention of accidents, injuries and occupational diseases.

Numerous commissions and local committees see to it that the insurance schemes are properly supervised and that the funds are properly expended.

Wage Scales, Costs and Rates, Etc.

As already indicated, out of the ten million workers and employees in the country, nine million are fully insured. The workers so far excluded are agricultural laborers who are at work in the small peasant households.

The social insurance funds consist of payments by the employers irrespective of whether these employers are state monopolies, trusts, coöperatives, or private persons. No payments whatever are made by workers and employees.

The total amount contributed for the social insurance funds was about 700 million rubles in the fiscal year of 1925-1926 and will reach in 1927-1928 850 million rubles. Of the insurance funds collected, two-thirds are spent for cash benefits and pensions and about one-fourth for medical benefits; ten per cent goes to the central organizations and a certain percentage for housing and reserve fund.

The rate of insurance paid by the employers varies according to the nature of employment, to its hazards to health, and to certain other political and economic and other considerations.

The average cost of insurance is about 14 per cent of the wages of the insured and ranges from 10 to 20 per cent of the wages. Industrial and other establishments are divided into four groups. The first pays 16 per cent; the second, 18 per cent; the third, 20 per cent, and the fourth, 22 per cent of the wages towards the insurance funds. Certain public institutions which are in bad financial condition enjoy privileged rates which amount only to 10, 12 and 14 per cent of the wages. Thus, certain state industries pay but 10 per cent, railroad and river transportation but 12 per cent, and forest industries but 14 per cent. Changes are made in the percentage of contributions by the Commissariat of Labor in conference with various other organizations.

The collection of insurance funds is by the local committees, sections and locals. These are given wide and important rights and powers to insure collection of insurance funds. If the contributions are not paid promptly a fine of 2 per cent is levied for the first month, and 3 per cent for each subsequent month. They may even confiscate or foreclose the property of the employer in case of non-payment of insurance dues. According to the

official reports of 1925-1926, 97.5 per cent of the funds of the insurance dues have been actually paid and only 2.5 per cent have not been collected.

Benefits

The purpose of the social insurance is to pay certain benefits to the workers. The range of these benefits is very wide and may be summarized in the following several groups: (a) general sickness; (b) unemployment; (c) invalidity and old age; (d) maternity and childhood; (e) death benefit, burial, etc.; (f) medical benefits; (g) housing, etc.

General Sickness.—The benefits paid for sickness, whether it is due to general causes or directly to the employment, such as accidents, occupational diseases, etc., are twofold—(1) payments for medical treatment, etc., and (2) cash payments during disability from disease. A separate chapter is devoted to the very interesting topic of the extent of the medical benefits and their character, which are paid according to the social insurance law.

The pecuniary benefits are paid to those workers and employees who have worked for more than two months in any establishment. Sick benefits are paid from the first day of sickness and the rate of payment is full wages, except that the maximum must not exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ rubles per day or 180 rubles per month. Cash benefit is also paid for loss of employment or time by a worker whose family is quarantined for some infectious disease. It is also paid to the worker if he must absent himself to care for a sick member of his family. Sick benefits are also paid for disability by occupational diseases.

Unemployment.—Unemployment is a serious problem in all countries and especially so in Russia with its poor economic condition and development. The unemployment benefits given do not extend to agricultural labor, which at present constitutes but 3.6 per cent of the insured. To the unemployment insurance funds are entitled intellectual workers as well as physical workers, and the first are entitled to aid even if they have been engaged for only a short period, while other workers must have a certain longer period of work before they are entitled to unemployment insurance.

Members of labor unions are entitled to unemployment insurance after one year; non-members after three years. The unemployed must be registered with the labor exchanges or with local labor unions. Proof of former employment and union affiliation must be furnished.

Benefits are given only to those who have no income or work whatever. The unemployed receive a cash benefit and supplementary assistance for the family. The total amount of the benefits, cash and supplementary assistance to the family is about 50 per cent of the former wage of the unemployed. The time limit for receiving benefits is nine months in one year for qualified workers and six months for other workers. Benefits are not paid after eighteen payments have been made for qualified workers and twelve for unqualified ones. Besides, the unemployed continue to receive their benefits during temporary disability, pregnancy, or confinement as if they were employed. They are also entitled to free medical aid, to assistance to new-born infants and to expenses for funerals.

In 1926 there were paid 38.7 million rubles in cash benefits to unemployed. The total expenditures for the

unemployed in 1926-1927 constituted 11 per cent of all the expenditures of the social insurance fund.

Besides these unemployment benefits, some of the unemployed also receive help by the state's giving temporary work to 100,000 men of the unemployed class.

Invalidity and Old Age.—By this is meant partial or total disability due to general causes or to accidents and occupational diseases. Workers thus disabled are entitled to cash benefits after examination by an expert commission or bureau of experts to determine the degree and character of their disability and invalidity.

Disability from invalidity is divided into six groups as follows: (1) total disability, and in addition needing the help of others, such as the blind, the paralyzed, etc.; (2) total disability but not needing the assistance of others; (3) total disability to do their work; (4) disability of 40 to 45 per cent; (5) that of 20 to 30 per cent; and (6) that of 10 to 15 per cent.

Benefits given depend upon whether the disability or invalidity is due to accidents and occupational diseases or to general causes. If to the former, Group 1 gets full wages; Group 2, two-thirds; Group 3, one-half; Group 4, one-third; Group 5, one-sixth; and Group 6, one-tenth. If disability is due to general causes, then the last three classes (4, 5 and 6) do not receive any benefits. In that case they are paid: Group 1, two-thirds; Group 2, four-ninths, and Group 3, one-third.

The average monthly payment in March, 1927, for the first grade of disabled from industrial causes was \$22.50 and \$17.00 for the non-industrially disabled.¹

¹ *Russia After Ten Years*, Report of the American Trade Union Delegation, p. 45.

These payments are also made for old age, which is regarded as invalidity. The benefits are given to those who become senile and are disabled so that they are partially or totally unable to work.

In 1926-1927, 240 million rubles were paid for temporary disability and 250 million rubles for medical assistance.

Maternity and Childhood.—As already mentioned, woman workers are not permitted to work during six to eight weeks before delivery and six to eight weeks thereafter. Sixteen weeks' benefit are given to telegraph and telephone workers, trained nurses, typists, etc.; other employees receive aid during but twelve weeks. During this time the women receive full pay. Besides this cash benefit the women receive supplementary aid for the purchase of certain articles needed for the child during the first nine months of its life. The extent of this supplementary aid consists of a payment of an average monthly wage of a given locality, and in addition one-fourth of the average monthly wage is paid regularly during the first nine months of the child's life.

The total expenditures for the protection of motherhood were 93 million rubles for 1925-1926. Of these, 24 million were paid for period of birth, 23 million to buy necessities for the infants, and 46 million to feed them.

Pregnant women and mothers also receive aid from the nurseries and homes for mothers and children. Nursing mothers are freed from work every three and one-half hours for nursing purposes.

Death Benefit, Burial, Etc.—Benefits are paid for the cost of civil burials. These benefits vary according

to the costs in the various districts. Death benefits are also paid to the families of workers who are unable to subsist without the earnings of the breadwinner. These benefits vary in extent according to the number of children in the family and to its earning capacity.

Housing, Etc.—Besides these generous provisions, the social insurance fund supports a large number of rest houses, sanatoria and other institutions for the benefit of sick and disabled workers. In 1926-1927, 455,286 persons were housed in the rest homes, constituting 5.11 per cent of the workers. In 1925-1926, nearly eight million rubles were paid by the insurance funds and in 1926-1927 nearly 12 million rubles.

The social insurance departments have invested large sums of money in building of workers' houses; 60 million rubles, or 10 per cent of the total capital, has been invested in these workers' houses. The funds are generally invested in improved workers' housing. In 1926-1927, there were invested 340 million rubles in these undertakings. In 1926-1927, there were 380,000 workers supplied with new houses.

CHAPTER TEN

MEDICAL BENEFITS AND HEALTH PROTECTION

THE political and economic revolution in Russia inevitably led to a revolution in many of the social organizations in the country. The medical profession and the health organization in the country were also profoundly affected. Scientifically, Russian medicine stood high before the revolutionary period, but the medical profession was not very prosperous, nor was the medical assistance and service given to the population satisfactory or sufficiently wide in its extent. One may say with impunity that in old Russia, 75 per cent of the population was left practically without medical aid, was treated mostly by low-grade "feldshers" (doctors' assistants) without preliminary or medical faculty training, and there were not sufficient hospital and clinic facilities for the large number of sick and diseased. Only in the largest cities was the medical aid more or less satisfactory.

Soon after the period of military communism passed, a medical service throughout the country was organized which presents the following cardinal features:

1. *Socialization* of the medical profession. Medical men and women are incorporated in the service of the state, whose employees they are and to whom they have to render service during five or six hours daily. They are paid salaries by the government. These range from 50 to 150 rubles per month, rather lower than the salaries given to engineers or technically trained men, although

higher than the salaries paid to teachers. Outside of the hours devoted to state service, the physicians may have a private practice. However, but very few succeed in such practice because there are few who can afford, having all medical treatment free, to go to physicians whom they have to pay for services. Physicians who are not in the government employ and who have a private practice are considered as belonging to the bourgeois class and are treated accordingly, with increased expenses for housing, etc., and are subject to quite heavy taxes.

2. Medical treatment in hospitals, in maternity houses, etc., and all other institutions, and medical visits to homes, are absolutely free to members of the labor unions, to all employees of the state and in the villages and communities where medical institutions are provided.

3. All hospitals, clinics, institutions, etc., belong to the state, either to the Commissariat of Health or to the social insurance funds.

4. A most thorough and comprehensive effort is being made to put the medical profession less on a curative and more on a prophylactic and preventive basis.

It has been already mentioned that the medical insurance funds compose about 28.4 per cent of all insurance payments, or about 4 per cent of the wages. The statistical figures for the whole country as to the amount of money spent for various activities of the Commissariat of Health and social insurance funds, nor what is accomplished by each part of the medical funds for various medical benefits, are not available. There are, however, figures for the City and Province of Moscow in E. M. Geiser's *Protection of the Health of the Workers*, issued in 1927 in Moscow, which gives comprehensive data on the cost and expenses of the medical benefits and social insur-

ance funds as well as the Moscow Board of Health. While it is true that Moscow, being the capital and the leading city of the country, can spend a larger amount for medical benefits than can other places, and may also have better facilities for medical organizations, nevertheless it probably mirrors the conditions throughout the country and may serve as a guide to what is done in the rest of the country.

Health Work Budget

The budget for health work in Moscow is very large in spite of the material difficulties and the lack of finances. In 1925-1926, this budget amounted to 36,132,969 rubles; for 1926-1927 the budget amounts to 43,221,000 rubles. The per capita expense for health organization was for Moscow in 1925-1926, 18 rubles and 78 kopeks; in 1926-1927 about 21 rubles and 45 kopeks.

The following figures are available and show the success in reducing morbidity and mortality in the City of Moscow. In 1913, the mortality per 1,000 in the City of Moscow was 24.8; in 1924 it was 15.3; in 1925, 13.4. The mortality of children under one year per 100 births, was in 1913, 28.5; in 1924, 17.7; in 1925, 13.5.

The increased expenditures and the decreased mortality of population in the City of Moscow is true also of the whole Province of Moscow, where practically all the work done for Moscow City is duplicated. The mortality for the province decreased from 31.5 in 1913 to 19.6 in 1925, with a decrease of the mortality of children under one year from 27.6 in 1913 to 19.4 in 1924 and 16.2 in 1925.

Corresponding to the reduction of mortality there is

also a considerable reduction in morbidity. Thus, for every 100 insured in Moscow there were paid for days of sickness in July, 1925, 87, and July, 1926, 69.

The most important work done by the health organizations is that of prophylaxis, which is embodied in a thorough, what is called in Russia, "dispensarization," but which means a thorough physical examination of workers in various industrial establishments, giving them medical advice and assistance to remedy those defects and diseases found by such physical examination. This work has been thoroughly developed in Moscow, as may be seen by the following figures:

In 1924, there were covered only 72 establishments with 54,143 workers examined; in 1925 this number increased to 345 establishments and 162,551 workers; in 1926, 590 establishments and 249,167 workers. There are now extant 219,000 medical reports of individuals who have undergone a most complete and thorough medical examination. The examination is made through the various medical organizations of the Commissariat of Health in connection with the various industrial hygiene and other institutes in the city.

The result of the physical examination of the workers was the finding of 60 to 80 per cent of the workers with more or less serious diseases. Of the 219,000 workers examined, 5,120 needed hospital treatment; 6,420 sojourn in sanatoria; 5,470 in various medical establishments; 10,767 special forms of treatment; 42,781 were sent to houses of rest; 13,153 were referred to diet clinics; 7,526 to night sanatoria; 3,336 changed from their work; while 6,394 needed sick leave. This assistance was given to the workers to the extent of 50 to 95 per cent of the need.

Beside the preventive measures by physical examina-

tion of workers, the Moscow Health Department, in conjunction with the Commissariat of Labor, improved the sanitary conditions of the factories and establishments where these workers were employed. A great many improvements in ventilation, lighting, safety and sanitation were introduced through the inspections which were made simultaneously with the examination of the workers of each establishment. Together with the physical examination of the workers and the sanitary examination of the places where they worked, there were also undertaken investigations into the home conditions of the workers. For the past year, no less than 463,000 visits were made to the homes of the workers. These examinations were followed by educational efforts to introduce better ventilation, wet methods of cleaning, the removal of rubbish, etc., and many other hygienic improvements.

The work did not stop there. An effort was made to examine all minor workers. In 1925, such examinations were made of 12,220 minors; in the spring of 1926 of 17,114 and in 1927 of about 20,000 minors. Of those examined, 3.5 per cent were sent to sanatoria, 64 per cent to houses of rest, 14 per cent to clinics and dispensaries. An effort is also made for the vocational guidance of minor workers with the idea to test their abilities, physical and otherwise, and to assist them to select their trades. In 1925-1926, 4,586 minors were helped in this respect. Besides this work, there was also a physical investigation of the children in schools and 27,000 were examined during the last year.

Of the other prophylactic and curative work of the health organization in Moscow, we may briefly review the following: (1) Dispensaries, First Aid, Hospitals, and Home Treatment; (2) Fight Against Tuberculosis, the

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Social Evil, Narcotics, etc.; (3) Infant and Maternity Welfare; (4) Other Curative and Prophylactic Work.

Dispensaries, First Aid, Hospitals and Home Treatment

Dispensaries.—In 1925-1926 there were 122 dispensaries in Moscow. The work of these institutions is very extensive and a very large number of persons have been examined in them. In 1922-1923 there were 6,232,941 visits made to the dispensaries; in 1923-1924, 8,235,815 visits; in 1924-1925, 10,450,570; and in 1925-1926, 12,272,646. All treatment, of course, is free.

First Aid.—In 1925-1926 there were 134 first aid stations in Moscow. First aid and ambulance service is rendered and Dr. Geiser claims that within one and a half minutes after a call an ambulance is on the way to the place called from. The number of ambulance calls last year was 9,382. Special automobiles are also provided for the carrying of patients from their homes to the hospitals. In 1926, there were thus carried 22,977, of whom 14,288 were suffering from infectious diseases.

Hospital Treatment.—In 1913 there were in Moscow hospitals 7,350 beds; in 1925-1926 there were 8,589, and in 1927 the number of beds was increased to 9,859. In 1913, the number of hospital patients was 89,142; in 1925-1926, 118,323. The number of beds is still inadequate and the ratio of beds to the population is still too small. It is at present in Moscow one for every 223 of the population.

Home Medical Treatment.—There are at present 75 offices in the City from which medical help may be de-

manded to the homes of the workers. The number of physicians in these 75 offices was 211 in 1925-1926 and for the year 1927, 246. In 1924-1925, there were made 363,607 home visits; in 1925-1926, 462,495; and in 1927 there will be made nearly 600,000 calls.

*The Fight Against Tuberculosis, Social Evil,
Narcotics, Etc.*

Tuberculosis.—The aid to tuberculous workers is increasing every year. Not only dispensaries, diet kitchens, and night sanatoria are arranged, but also a great effort is made to improve conditions of work and home. At present there are thirteen tuberculosis clinics in Moscow with an examination last year of 84,080 sick workers, who made 582,993 visits. Of the 84,080 sick visitors to the workers' tuberculosis dispensaries, there were found suffering from tuberculosis 42,171, or more than 50 per cent; 48,711 visits were made to the homes of the tuberculous. The City of Moscow has seventeen sanatoria for the tuberculous and four children's tuberculosis sanatoria. The cost of each sanatorium bed was in the year 1926-1927, 117 rubles.

Venereal Diseases.—Under the new régime, great effort is being made to fight the social evil. There are a number of special dispensaries in Moscow. The number affected with venereal diseases is very large. In 1924-1925, there were treated in the special dispensaries 23,409 persons who made 437,163 visits. In 1925-1926, the number increased to 26,667, making 557,477 visits. In 1924-1925, there were found 24,095 suffering from syphilis, 21,191 from gonorrhea, and 2,797 from soft

chancre. The examinations also extended to the families of the sick ones and in 1925-1926, there were 8,522 visits.

Efforts are also made to go through certain industrial and other establishments with a view of finding those who are sick with venereal diseases. In 1925-1926, there were such investigations made of 333 establishments with 27,546 workers.

Narcotics.—Special dispensaries are established for drug addicts. There are about ten points where such addicts may get treatment. In 1925-1926 there applied for treatment 7,644 addicts, who made 58,514 visits.

Other Diseases.—The fight against occupational diseases is within the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Labor and the Bureau of Protection of Labor. In Moscow it is represented by the Institute of Occupational Diseases, "Obukh," of which we shall treat later.

Infant and Maternity Welfare

Great stress is laid by the government on maternity and child welfare. In 1913, there were only 720 beds in Moscow maternity houses, while there were that year 54,649 births. Thus, for every 1,000 births there were 13.2 beds. In 1925-1926, there were 20 maternity houses, with 1,353 beds, and there were 24.4 beds for every 1,000 births.

At present the great majority of births, 86 per cent, are in the maternity houses. In the year 1925-1926, there were 63,945 women admitted to these maternity houses.

There is a large number of maternity and infant dispensaries, clinics, and hospitals. In 1925-1926, there

were made 607,286 visits in the 32 consultation maternity and infant stations. During the current year, the consultation stations are expected to be increased to 37, with 650,000 visits. In 1925-1926, physicians took care of 20,992 children. Pregnant women made in 1925-1926, 181,600 visits to the consultation stations.

In 1924-1925 and 1926 there were 29 milk stations in which there were pasteurized 986,416 quarts of milk, which fed 65,331 children.

Nurseries.—These are for children of working mothers. In 1924-1925, there were 105 such nurseries which took care of 5,114 children. Their number is constantly on the increase. The Moscow Commissariat of Health apports 120 rubles a year for the care of each child in the nursery.

Other Prophylactic Institutions

In 1925-1926, there were 8,000 workers referred to diet kitchens. In 1924-1925, there were 3 night sanatoria with 100 beds. In 1925-1926, there were 13 night sanatoria with 443 beds. Besides these there were also 8 night tuberculosis sanatoria with 353 beds. In 1925-1926, there were in the night sanatoria 4,244 persons.

Rest-houses are established for a longer sojourn. In 1925-1926, there were 10 rest-houses with 4,570 beds, and 2 floating rest-houses with 380 beds. In these sanatoria in Moscow, 9 per cent of the workers were housed during the year. In 1926, there were 51,000 workers in these rest-houses.

The Moscow Health Department pays great attention to the sanitary inspection of houses, buildings, public and

other institutions. It also conducts a vigorous vaccination program. During 1925-1926, there were vaccinated 200,000 persons; practically the whole population of Moscow is at present immunized by vaccination. In 1925-1926, there were 12,451 apartments disinfected and 55,871 inspections made of food handlers and stores.

Side by side with all these various procedures and institutions, the Moscow Health Department is conducting a strenuous educational campaign in its endeavor to educate the workers to coöperate with the various health activities. In 1925-1926, there were reached by the Educational Bureau of the Health Department, 2,407,014 persons—1,758,463 by lectures and talks; 286,159 by exhibits and excursions; 258,164 by motion pictures; 167,218 by various scenic shows, etc. In the current year, 15,000 lectures are expected to be given with 1,000 exhibitions, excursions, etc.

It is evident that much attention is paid by the Soviet Government to the health and the protection of the health of the workers. According to the statistics of 1926, 92 per cent of the printers, 98 per cent of the tailors, 90 per cent of the chemical workers, 91 per cent of the leather workers, 85 per cent of the textile workers, 88 per cent of the metal workers have undergone a physical examination and have been educated to the importance of keeping their health. The work of the Health Department is aided by many committees, commissions, and so-called "cells," consisting of intelligent workers who assist the City Health Department in its sanitary and hygienic crusades.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE INSTITUTIONS

CLOSELY allied with the extensive program for protection of labor by legislation, factory inspection and social insurance, are the several important institutions which have been created by the government as centers of scientific research, social investigations and practical demonstrations, and for teaching the personnel of the protection of labor organs.

Among these institutions may be but briefly mentioned the Central Museum of Protection of Labor and Social Insurance in Moscow and the museums in other cities, the State Scientific Institute for Labor Protection, the Clinic of Professional and Social Diseases of the Moscow University, and especially the Moscow Obukh Institute for the Study of Occupational Diseases. These several institutions carry on so important a work in labor protection that a brief description of each may be of interest.

Central Museum of Protection of Labor and Social Insurance

This institution is only about three years old, and yet it is playing a very important rôle in labor protection. Professor Alice Hamilton, who saw this institute just within a year or so after its inception, in 1924, described it as follows:

"There is a wonderful Museum of Safety in Moscow. It is housed in the former palace of the Galitzin family, a spacious, beautiful building in perfect condition. The white marble stairway still has its red velvet ropes with gold tassels; the great drawing-room with its crystal chandeliers is now a lecture hall with a moving picture machine. The Museum is admirably planned for instruction, especially of the workingman. Everything is represented as far as possible by means of pictures and charts, so that with a little explanation an illiterate man can grasp all the essentials. Each trade is pictured as far as possible, or the apparatus displayed, and there are demonstrations showing the dangers inherent in the trade and the methods of protection against such dangers. One interesting exhibit is of felt-hat manufacture, for all the apparatus is there; the long bow with its single string, the large cone, the brushes and wooden beaters and tubs and knives. Levitzky's statistics were also displayed, showing that the sickness rate in this trade is as follows: Of those examined, 15 per cent had gastro-intestinal trouble, 23 per cent pulmonary tuberculosis, 24 per cent other pulmonary disease, 71 per cent nervous troubles, and 93 per cent stomatitis. Out of fifteen trades the hatters averaged the lowest in height and chest measurement. Members of many other trades have also been investigated.

"One whole room in the Museum is given over to anti-alcohol propaganda. Drunkenness is rarely seen on the streets, but prohibition is not absolute in Russia, for beers and wines are allowed and there is apparently no restriction on the alcohol content of the latter. Only distilled liquors are forbidden, although at certain times the government, apparently with great success, stops the sale of all liquor. While we were in Moscow a government order

prohibited the sale of any alcoholic drink during the three days while the new recruits were coming in, and again during the three-day holiday celebration of the Revolution. At the time of this great celebration we did not see a single drunken man and the street crowds were the most orderly and quiet, imaginable."¹ Professor Hamilton was in Russia during the summer of 1924.

At present this Museum of Safety has largely increased its facilities, and on my visit to it during June and July, 1927, it struck me as the foremost institution of its kind, certainly superior in many respects and inferior in none to the museums of safety, etc., which I have visited in Charlottenburg, Munich, Frankfort, and in several cities of other countries.

There are several similar museums, but on a more modest scale, in Leningrad, Kostroma, Saratov, and Samara, and several new museums are projected in a half-dozen other cities.

The State Scientific Institute for Labor Protection

This state organization, which in part was founded in 1922, has been opened only on May 2, 1925. It is under the auspices of the Commissariats of Labor and Public Health and of the Supreme Council of National Economy. It occupies a large building and engages a large number of workers.

The purpose of this institution is the study of problems of labor protection; the guidance and the supervision of general and local organizations and commissions for labor protection; the education of persons devoting

¹ Dr. Alice Hamilton: *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*, February, 1925 (Vol. VII, No. 2), p. 47.

themselves to labor protection; the planning, approval, and promotion of appliances and measures for safety and sanitation; and the initiation of new legislation for the protection of labor.

The institute is divided into four main sections: Scientific Research; Technical Plans and Projects; Pedagogical; Museum and Library.

Scientific Research.—This section consists of several laboratories, each one having its special purpose as indicated by its designation. These are as follows: Industrial Hygiene Laboratory, concentrating attention on the external factors of labor; Laboratory of Pathology of Labor, studying the influence of labor on the organism of the worker; Biological Experimental Laboratory, studying the effects of poisons, dusts, etc., upon animals; Physio-Chemical Laboratory, studying the nature of dusts, gases and poisons; Psycho-Technical Laboratory, studying fatigue, neuroses, etc.; Laboratory on Ventilation; Statistical Bureau; Local Investigations in Factories and Industrial Establishments.

Technical Plans and Projects.—This section pays special attention to the study of light and illumination, sanitary equipment, safety, accident prevention, respirators, eyeglasses, and other special occupational clothing. It also drafts new plans and devises new methods for various appliances for the protection of workers.

Pedagogical Section.—In this are concentrated the industrial hygiene pedagogical activities, the teaching of students, as well as post-graduate instruction of physicians in industrial hygiene, the conduct of three-month

courses for medical and sanitary inspectors, the elaboration of programs for education in the faculties of hygiene, labor, and safety, and the publication of various reports on industrial hygiene.

Museum and Library.—This section has charge of the special industrial hygiene libraries connected with the industrial hygiene institutes and with the colleges. It also is the center where material is gathered for the various publications on industrial hygiene and it also supervises the present museums of labor and furthers the organization of future ones.

Closely allied with the State Scientific Institute for the Protection of Labor is the *Institute of Labor Medicine* in Charkov, Ukraine. This institution shows an enormous amount of work for the three years of its existence. The scientists connected with this institution have made several important studies on fatigue, on atmospheric influence on labor, on noise, dust, lead, carbon-monoxide, certain acids and alkalis, etc. It is also partly a pedagogical institute for physicians who specialize in occupational pathology, and has a two years' course for internes in occupational hygiene and pathology. At present there are twenty internes in this institution. It also conducts courses for factory physicians, in which there were ninety post-graduate students during 1924-1925. In its polyclinic, which has a capacity of two thousand persons daily, a very large number of workers has been examined, while in its hospital several hundred persons are occupying beds and serve as material for the study of industrial pathology. Over a hundred physicians and specialists are connected with this institution.

*The Clinic of Social and Professional Diseases of the
Moscow Universities*

Besides the State Institute for Industrial Hygiene there are a number of institutions in various localities, as already indicated, and several special institutions connected with the universities.

The Moscow Clinic for Social and Professional Diseases was organized to assist in the pedagogical work of the two Moscow Universities and the Chairs of Industrial Hygiene and Social Hygiene. It is under the auspices of the Commissariat of Health, the Commissariat of Labor and the Commissariat of Education. During its two first years of existence it conducted a number of important studies and investigations, on which over eighty papers have already been published and two or three hundred are in the course of being completed and published.

This institute is not only a school for the instruction of students, but also an ambulatory clinic for the examination of various workers used as material in teaching. Several thousand workers of various trades, especially the textile, have been examined during the last year. The erection of a hospital is projected in connection with this institute.

Such institutions are also established in Leningrad and several other cities.

The Moscow Obukh Institute for the Study of Occupational Diseases

This institution was founded by the Moscow Health Department in 1923 and works in close contact with all other general and local industrial hygiene institutions,

although it limits its activities to the City and Province of Moscow. Special attention is given to the study of occupational diseases and to their prevention.

The institution was named after Dr. Obukh, the former Health Commissioner of Moscow, and is directed by Dr. Bogolepova, who is assisted by Dr. Gellman. It is located in a large building with several outbuildings, not far from the center of the city. A large new building is in process of erection.

The purpose of the institution is the systematic study of labor pathology and research into the etiological factors of occupational diseases, elaboration of preventive methods of safety and sanitation, treatment of occupational diseases, education of physicians and others in industrial hygiene.

The Obukh Institute consists of an ambulatory clinic or dispensary which had an attendance of sixteen thousand patients during the year ending October 1, 1926. One of the interesting features of this dispensary is its close connection with the industrial establishments from which the examined worker comes, each specialist devoting a sufficient time within the factory to learn and study the effects of various processes upon the diseases within his own specialty.

The hospital has a capacity of fifty beds (the new building doubles this number). Here there were placed during the last year 600 persons; of these 152 worked in metal trades, 60 in chemical, 57 in food trades, 37 printers, 35 textile workers, etc.

Besides the dispensary and hospital, there are ten laboratories, the physiological laboratory being the largest.

There are also several so-called "prophylactories," pre-

ventive clinic beds, fifteen for special diet regimens, and ten beds for night sanatoria. In these the workers are given special diets appropriate to their calling and to their ailments and also are given a chance to rest for the night after their day's work.

Another feature of the institute is the vocational guidance which is given by the members of the institute to those seeking positions in dangerous trades. The Labor Exchange sends to the institute a large number of adolescents for consultation, to find out whether these are fitted for the work which they undertake. The institute also has charge of the selection of minors as candidates for the factory schools.

The Sanitary-Technical Department of the Institute makes special sanitary and technical inspections and investigations of special factories from which sick workers come to the clinics and dispensaries.

Especially important is the work of the institute within the factory, special factories being under the direct charge of the members of the institute, their workers all being examined and the processes and materials studied for their effects upon the health of the workers.

The scientific work of the institute is very important. Several hundred reports have been made on various diseases and topics of industrial hygiene. During last year there were 94 scientific conferences within the institute, with 194 papers read on different subjects. Special journals are issued by the institute and several hundred physicians and specialists of note are connected with the institution. In one of the laboratories alone there were made during last year 20 autopsies, over 13,000 histological preparations, 71 bi-opsies, and 2,400 blood examinations.

Altogether the work of this institution is remarkable in its intensity and extent, in the results already achieved, and in the great progress which it promises to have in the future.

Educational Activities

All the work of the Soviet Government, which is claimed to be a government of the workers and peasants, is founded in a wide educational activity and extensive propaganda and agitation. Indeed, in health and labor protective fields, the amount of educational activities sponsored by the government and the management of these departments are truly remarkable.

Several state publishing houses issue a large number of special reviews and publications and print annually thousands of small popular pamphlets and booklets on various topics of health and industrial hygiene. The number of these booklets probably is greater than all the publications in all European countries and the United States. There is hardly a trade or process in industry which is not dealt with separately and for which there are not issued special rules and regulations and popular pamphlets for the workers, to teach them the dangers of the trade and the methods of prevention.

Besides the regular publication of reviews, books, pamphlets, etc., thousands of posters, wonderfully illustrated with bright colors, are being printed and distributed throughout all factories and workers' homes, each of the posters teaching a special subject. To these posters are added a large number of placards with various slogans upon them.

Within the factory educational work is going on by

means of a so-called "sten-gazzetta," or a wall bulletin board in which daily are placed various instructions for workers by the administration. For each factory there is appointed a factory correspondent whose duty it is to note various violations and other matters within the factory and report to the "Yacheikas" or communist cells which are the prime political movers in and sponsors for the management of the factory.

Each factory sends a number of adolescent workers as well as grown-ups to the factory schools, of which there are a large number, especially in connection with large establishments.

All these educational activities go on besides the general cultural agitation by the special Department of Education, which, besides its many schools and other educational activities, has had over two million workers and peasants learning the "A B C's" in the big drive for the abolition of illiteracy in the country. These educational activities are directed by the Department of Education and by the various organs of the Department of Labor in connection with the various institutions here briefly described.

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